



Daily Report

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Nazarkin Details Geneva Arms Talks

LD0308184389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0949 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva, 3 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Korchev reports:

The question of a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms remains the number one priority on the agenda of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations. This was stated today by Yu.K. Nazarkin, head of the USSR delegation at the negotiations with the United States on nuclear and space armaments. In accordance with established tradition, he delivered an informational report to the participants of the Geneva disarmament conference concerning the progress of the negotiations. The conference's latest round will finish on 7 August.

The head of the Soviet delegation emphasized that there is an objective interrelationship between defensive and offensive strategic arms. Therefore, a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive arms is only possible in conditions of the non-launch into space of anti-missile weapons and compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form that it was signed in 1972. Stemming from this, the Soviet side proposes that the text of a treaty on strategic offensive armaments include a clause on halting its operation in the event of the violation of the ABM Treaty or the agreement on compliance with it. Unfortunately, no success has yet been achieved in reaching mutual understanding on this matter.

If one is speaking of the contents of a treaty on strategic offensive armaments, there is still deadlock regarding the limitation of sea-launched long-range cruise missiles. The Soviet side views the problem of verifying [kontrol] their limitation, for all its complexity, can be solved. This view is confirmed by the recently conducted joint experiment using the method of remote-contact verification.

Yu.K. Nazarkin further noted that the Soviet delegation at the present round has put forward fresh ideas in respect of verifying the limitation of other types of strategic offensive armaments: air-launched cruise missiles, mobile missiles, and heavy ICBMs. These steps provide hope for a productive dialogue.

The provisions of future documents connected with the problem of verification [kontrol] have been subjected to further elaboration and coordination. The Soviet side favors the broadest possible effective verification [proverka] of implementation of provisions of limitation or prohibition in respect of all types of strategic offensive armaments that will be covered by the new treaty.

In parallel with the search for solutions to matters on which agreement had not yet been reached, work was done throughout the whole round on the texts of drafts of the treaty and associated documents. Here it proved possible to make progress in considerable measure. This proved possible because both sides displayed a desire to find mutually acceptable solutions and because of the constructive and businesslike atmosphere at the talks, stressed the USSR representative.

As far as the U.S. side is concerned, among its actions was to table a proposal that verification [kontrol] and stability measures be prepared and implemented before a treaty on strategic offensive weapons is concluded—on a trial basis, as it were. This idea merits consideration, but it should not get in the way of work on the treaty.

In conclusion, Yu.K. Nazarkin reported that the next, 12th round of the talks on nuclear and space armaments would evidently begin immediately after the meeting between USSR and U.S. ministers of foreign affairs in September of this year.

If speeches by Soviet representatives at talks on nuclear and space weapons to participants in conferences on disarmament have already become traditional, two U.S. ambassadors taking part today in this practice was a novelty. U.S. delegation head Richard Burt noted for his part the "useful and constructive" character of the 11th round of talks on nuclear and space weapons.

"Although several important differences still divide the USSR and the United States," he said, "I think the sides understand more clearly and value the fact that both of them are building their positions on a reasonable basis."

Burt then expounded on the U.S. conception regarding the reduction of strategic weapons, dwelt on individual aspects of it and on the difference in approaches from the Soviet side, including on questions of verification and inspection. He stressed particularly that the Bush administration does not link the talks on strategic offensive weapons either with the talks on conventional weapons in Europe or with seeking accords on the problems of space defense. In the U.S. view, each area, he said, is independent.

Henry Cooper, the leader of the U.S. delegation in the space weapons group, who spoke after Burt, detailed this point of view, asserting that the Soviet arguments on the strategic character of space systems and on the necessity to link this question to a treaty on strategic offensive weapons are allegedly groundless and that the U.S. actions in the sphere of space defense lead to greater security.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman 3 Aug News Briefing

Views Hostage Issue

LD0308145889 Moscow TASS In English 1442 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—When they were meeting at the request of the U.S. ambassador in Moscow yesterday, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and envoy Jack Matlock touched upon the aggravated situation in Lebanon in connection with the fate of hostages held there, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perflyev told a news briefing here today.

The Soviet Union, he said, is strongly opposed to escalating violence and to any acts of terrorism, regardless of whether perpetrated by a state or by individuals and groups.

"The chain reaction of violence, started by the abduction of Shaykh ('Abd Al-karim 'Ubayd) and continued with the execution of Colonel (William) Higgins, must be stopped. [TASS parentheses as received]

"A threat or use of force cannot defuse the situation. Diplomatic efforts are needed to solve the issue," said Perflyev, who is first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's information directorate.

He told reporters that "the Soviet Union has taken most active measures to prevent further criminal acts and secure an immediate release of all hostages and abducted persons."

The problem, he added, was among the subjects taken up by Shevardnadze in Iran and is being further pursued through intensive diplomatic contacts in different directions.

"The Soviet Union intends, in particular, to interact on this issue with Syrian and Palestinian leaders and with the leadership of other countries. We are also going to send a special message to the Israeli leadership on the responsibility it assumes in this serious situation," Perflyev said.

Says USSR Regrets 'Spy Mania'

LD0308152189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1450 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Aug (TASS)—Answering the question of a journalist on the U.S. citizen Felix Bloch, Vadim Perflyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said today at a briefing that the Soviet Union regrets it when a campaign of spy mania begins in the West, hindering the normalization of international relations.

The representative of the Foreign Ministry said that he had nothing to add to the words of Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the information directorate of the USSR

Foreign Ministry on this. At a previous briefing Gennadiy Gerasimov had said that until the hullabaloo about him [Bloch] in the U.S. press, the name of Bloch "was not known to anyone" in the Soviet Union. "We do not have any relations to him," he went on to say.

Expresses Concern Over ANC Activist

LD0308222189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1512 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Aug (TASS)—The USSR is deeply concerned about the fate of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa activist Robert McBride and other political prisoners in the Republic of South Africa [RSA] who have been sentenced to death. The USSR expects the government of the RSA to show humanity toward them, said Vadim Perflyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry at a briefing today.

Robert McBride was sentenced to death in April 1987 on the grounds of having broken the law on internal security. In spite of the fact that he submitted a plea for mercy to Pieter Botha, president of the RSA, renouncing participation in acts of violence in the future, there are fears that the sentence may be carried out.

The USSR supports the demands of the democratic forces of the RSA to lift the state of emergency in the RSA and to free all political prisoners, said Vadim Perflyev. Only such steps by Pretoria can open up the path to dialogue between representatives of the ruling minority and the democratic forces of the majority of the population to eliminate the system of apartheid by political means.

TASS Summarizes Briefing

LD0308192589 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Soviet-American consultations on Afghanistan, held at Stockholm from July 31 to August 1, had the purpose of exchanging views on an Afghan settlement, comparing opinions about the expected further development of the Afghan situation, and probing ways for launching joint efforts to settle the issue at an early date, Nikolay Kozyrev, an ambassador at large who led the Soviet delegation to Stockholm, told a news briefing here today.

He added that the U.S. representatives had reaffirmed their readiness to help secure the release of Soviet prisoners of war captured in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union regards the earliest conclusion of an effective and verifiable convention on banning chemical weapons as a priority, Nikita Smidovich, an expert on the prohibition of chemical weapons and a Soviet Foreign Ministry department head, said at the same briefing.

Telling reporters about the 11th round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on chemical weapons in Geneva last month, he noted that important progress was achieved there as it proved possible to lessen differences on procedures for the elimination of chemical weapon stocks and of facilities to produce such weapons, as well as on bilateral exchanges of data and its verification.

Continuing the briefing, Vadim Perilyev, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said that during their meeting at the request of the U.S. ambassador in Moscow on Wednesday [2 August], Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and envoy Jack Matlock touched upon the aggravated situation in Lebanon in connection with the fate of the hostages held there.

Perilyev told reporters that "the Soviet Union has taken most active measures to prevent further criminal acts and secure an immediate release of all hostages and abducted persons".

He also spoke of the 41st session of the subcommission on the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities, which is the main working body of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, which opens in Geneva on August 7.

The spokesman recalled that at the 40th session last year it proved possible to open a serious and constructive discussion on a whole number of issues concerning human rights and outline ways of continuing business cooperation in this field.

He voiced hope that the 41st session will build on these achievements.

Commenting on a recent report by the influential U.S. right-wing conservative Heritage Foundation in Washington, Perilyev regretted the report's distorted presentation of the situation in Asia and blatantly destructive recommendations to the White House on policy towards the Soviet Union.

The spokesman reminded reporters of far-reaching Soviet initiatives on Asian-Pacific problems and expressed bewilderment at the fact that the U.S. Administration has not found it possible to this day to give a positive response to the more important Soviet initiatives, especially those regarding military confidence-building measures.

Perilyev said that a delegation from the U.S. House Committee on Armed Service led by representative Les Aspin will pay a visit to the Soviet Union on August 7 through 17 at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet.

Besides conferring with Soviet parliamentarians having meetings at the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, ministries and agencies, the congressmen will tour a number of military facilities.

Commenting on the forthcoming visit of U.S. warships to Sevastopol on August 4-8, Perilyev said that the visiting group has undergone changes. The cruiser Belknap won't be able to arrive with the group, which will now be led by Vice-Admiral Paul Ilg, U.S. deputy naval commander-in-chief Europe, rather than by Vice-Admiral James Williams.

The USSR, the spokesman went on, attaches much significance to this visit and views contacts between the navies of the two countries as manifesting new thinking in the military field and growing trust between the two nations.

In conclusion, Perilyev said that a Soviet delegation was present for the first time when the Association of Innuits (Eskimos) of the North Pole held its 5th general assembly in Sisimiut, Greenland, late last month. The Soviet presence, he added, reflected a desire to develop all-round contacts with eskimos of different countries.

USSR Reportedly Wants Talks on Berlin
LD0408044589 Hamburg DPA in German
1330 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The Soviet Union wants to conduct "preliminary quadripartite talks at working level" with the three Western allies on the Berlin initiative tabled by former President Ronald Reagan. It was reliably reported in East Berlin today that contacts which have taken place since the Soviet response of September 1988 to the Western aide memoire of 29 December 1987 in Berlin and Moscow could now culminate in preliminary talks of this nature. The Berlin initiative proposes, among other things, a larger role for Berlin in international air traffic and international congresses in the city.

According to the Soviet response, the West had "overlooked" the fact that the USSR had agreed to "hold consultations among the four powers." In the Soviet view, the talks could deal with "issues related to improvements in the situation of West Berlin, as far as they directly affect the city and do not touch on the GDR's sphere of sovereignty." The "necessary basis for this would be found" if the consultations are held "on the basis" of the four-power agreement.

It was reported yesterday that the envoy at the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin had signalled to the three Western allies a readiness on Moscow's part to take up Reagan's initiative. It is not known which specific issues are to be discussed. The Soviet Union is reported to have voiced an interest in landing rights for Aeroflot.

Soviet Stance Lauded
LD0208141789 Hamburg DPA in German 1353 GMT
2 Aug 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The FRG Government welcomed the Soviet Union's readiness to talk to the Western allies about the Berlin initiative begun by the former U.S.

President Ronald Reagan. Government spokesman Hans Klein said in Bonn today that the aim was to achieve with the Soviet Union practical improvements for the benefit of Berlin and its people. This was a high priority for the FRG Government.

The envoy [gesandter] at the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin had signaled to the three Western powers Moscow's willingness to take up Reagan's Berlin initiative. It is not known what will be first topics for specific negotiations.

The talks are to take place at first between diplomats below the level of ambassadors and envoys. The Soviet Union is also said to have indicated its interest in landing rights for its airline Aeroflot at the West Berlin Tegel airport.

Perfilyev Denies Report

LD0308153489 Moscow TASS in English
1513 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has denied claims contained in a REUTER report that the Soviet Union sent a representative to talks with three Western powers to discuss the so-called "Berlin initiative," set forth by former U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Vadim Perfilyev told a news briefing that the report "does not correspond to reality."

"The matter at issue is, perhaps, contacts between representatives of the administration of the United States, Britain and France in West Berlin and representatives of the Soviet Embassy in the German Democratic Republic on matters of mutual interest," the spokesman said, adding that such contacts are maintained on a regular basis.

Official Describes Talks on Chemical Weapons Ban

LD0308154789 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The Soviet Union regards the earliest conclusion of an effective and verifiable convention on banning chemical weapons as a priority issue, a senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official said at a briefing here today.

Nikita Smidovich, an expert in the field of banning chemical weapons and a Soviet Foreign Ministry department head, told journalists about the 11th round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on chemical weapons held in Geneva in June. He noted that meaningful progress was achieved. At this round the sides succeeded in lessening differences between themselves on the order of eliminating chemical weapon stocks and their production facilities and also on the bilateral exchange of data, and verification.

Smidovich described the results of the round as a good foundation for further increasing efforts in the field of chemical disarmament. He said that at the Paris meeting [between] Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker on July 29 the American side was given an aide-memoire with considerations on Soviet-U.S. interaction in the early conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons. The Soviet proposals concerned a joint comprehensive study of the issue of verifying compliance with the convention and an immediate exchange of information on chemical weapon stocks and plants which produce them. In the same aide-memoire the USSR gave consent to verifying the validity of the submitted data within the framework of the agreement on the exchange of bilateral data prior to initialing the convention.

The USSR hopes that the U.S. side will give a positive answer to these and other considerations which were set out in the aide-memoire, Smidovich said.

He expressed confidence that there are favourable opportunities for intensifying the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on banning chemical weapons with a view to signing the convention as soon as possible.

Recalling that the Soviet Union made public the size of its stocks of chemical weapons, which do not exceed 50,000 tonnes by weight of toxic agents, Smidovich emphasised the importance of this wording since at issue is not the weight of chemical weapons but the weight of toxic substances, which does not include metal parts of chemical munitions. He also said that the USSR invites the United States to report the size of its stocks, noting that if this is not done, it is impossible to make any accurate comparison of the balance of forces.

United States & Canada

U.S. Spokesman Cited on Military Option in Mideast
LD0308205189 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Washington August 3 TASS—President George Bush has made no final decision on whether to take military action if a second U.S. hostage is killed in Lebanon, a White House spokesman told reporters on Thursday.

Extremists had threatened to kill American Joseph Cicippio but several hours ago suspended the execution sentence.

Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said that if Cicippio is killed, "that would be a very grave situation and we would be prepared to deal with it as best we could and I would not preclude any option one way or another."

"You may be assured that all of the foundation planning has been done and consideration of every scenario has been taken and we will pursue this to the best of our ability," he said.

At the same time, Fitzwater said that no final decision had been taken.

The spokesman said that the administration continues its efforts to solve the crisis through diplomatic channels.

The situation was aggravated last week after Israeli commandos kidnapped Shi'ite leader Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd. Extremists retaliated with the killing of U.S. hostage Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins.

Fitzwater said that, despite the efforts being made, "it's very difficult to express very much optimism." He also said the president planned no meeting with his foreign policy advisers on Thursday. Such meetings have become routine since the crisis emerged.

A Pentagon spokesman said on Thursday that there were no unusual changes in actions of the 6th U.S. Fleet in the Mediterranean.

"All units are conducting routine operations," Lieutenant Colonel Mel Sunden said, adding that the 25 U.S. ships deployed in the region "is usually what we have there."

Akhromeyev Interviewed on USSR-U.S. Relations
PM0308134189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev by TASS political observer Yu. Kornilov: "Marshal S. Akhromeyev: 'I Left the White House Feeling Good...'"—date and place unspecified, first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Mutual understanding and the resumption of military contacts between the USSR and the NATO countries are a special feature of confidence-building—

this in particular was stated in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the first session of the Supreme Soviet 1 August. The recent trip to the United States by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during which he spoke in congress, was a specific and convincing illustration of the importance of reciprocal visits and exchanges of ideas between the two blocs' military men.

S.F. Akhromeyev returned to Moscow the other day. What were his main impressions of the trip to the United States? That was the question that began our conversation.

[Akhromeyev] Foremost among the foreign policy problems currently at the center of the attention of U.S. politicians and the American public are the revolutionary transformations taking place in our country. I was asked about this and about the progress of and prospects for our perestroika by politicians, representatives of military circles, and all U.S. citizens. Over the past 2 years I have visited the United States three times and I must note that interest in our perestroika continues to grow in all sections of American society.

[Kornilov] Did you talk about perestroika at Congress?

[Akhromeyev] Naturally, I noted that major fundamental changes are occurring in our country's economic relations, political system, and national relations. But, since the House Armed Services Committee had suggested that I speak on a specific subject—"Soviet National Security Policy in the Nineties"—main attention was naturally devoted to the Soviet foreign policy course brought about by perestroika and to purely military problems. We Soviet people do have something to say on the subject! Our country—and the recent Congress of People's Deputies reaffirmed this with great authority—persistently stresses that states' security should be safeguarded above all by political means. Hence the new Soviet military doctrine introduced in 1987 based on the principle of defense sufficiency, and the unilateral 500,000-man cut in our Armed Forces.

It is quite obvious that the will of one side is not enough to improve the political climate or successfully develop Soviet-U.S. relations. This will be the result of joint efforts. Such bilateral measures as the five meetings between the Soviet and U.S. leaders in 1985-1988, the ratification and successful fulfillment of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the considerable progress at the strategic offensive weapons talks, the good start at the talks on armed forces cuts in Europe, and the coordination of the two countries' actions to eliminate a number of dangerous regional conflicts are all assets of Soviet-U.S. relations. We value U.S. President G. Bush's recent statement that "the time has come to go beyond the concept of deterrence and, with the USSR and the socialist countries of Central Europe, to move on toward a better world."

[Kornilov] But the U.S. press, commenting on your speech to Congress, also noted your statement that the threat of war has not disappeared....

[Akhromeyev] Personally, I am convinced that the United States and its allies are not currently planning to start a war against the USSR. But we are obliged to see something else too—the fact that the United States and NATO as a whole continue to pursue a position-of-strength policy and to follow the strategy of nuclear deterrence. We are worried that the United States, which surrounded our country more than 40 years ago with a network of military bases, has still not reduced these bases and continues to retain them....

[Kornilov] I think that grounds for a certain amount of concern have appeared recently too. It is no secret that while you were in the United States the administration zealously "pushed" through Congress the huge military budget for fiscal 1990, which envisages allocating billions for "Star Wars" preparations and for production of such dangerous first-strike weapons as the B-2 "Stealth" bomber....

[Akhromeyev] That's right. We are convinced that if a U.S. ABM system, particularly its strike component, is developed [sozdavatsya]—and to all intents and purposes this is what the U.S. representatives at the Geneva talks are insisting on—it would be inexpedient to sign a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons. This must be taken into account by both the Soviet Union and the United States. As for the B-2... of course, it is a modern and effective weapon. But after all, as is well known, to every action there is a corresponding reaction. If the U.S. side introduces this weapon into its Armed Forces' inventory, we will have to take measures to prevent the United States gaining superiority over us. And such measures—not necessarily symmetrical, not least in terms of cost (here it is apposite to recall that each B-2 will cost the U.S. taxpayer \$500 million!)—will be taken.

The Washington Administration's refusal to conduct talks on reducing naval forces on a bilateral basis is cause for great concern. Such a refusal is hard to interpret in any other way than as an attempt to gain military superiority.

[Kornilov] What was said during your meetings in the United States about European affairs?

[Akhromeyev] Many sober-minded U.S. politicians and public representatives noted with satisfaction that the talks underway in Vienna on armed forces and arms cuts in Europe are proceeding well. That is my view too. The Soviet Union and its allies are prepared in practice to cut their armed forces in Europe and to reorganize them to ensure that reliable security becomes a reality. Needless to say, we expect the same of NATO.

Of course, even today there are forces in the West that are striving to complicate the talks. They put out the "scare" story that although the USSR says it is prepared

for arms cuts, it is actually producing "huge tank armadas" of virtually 4,000 tanks a year. During my talks the real figures were quoted: For instance, this year our military enterprises will produce 1,700 tanks, and in 1990 production of them will be further reduced. Since these figures had not previously been published, they were naturally latched onto by the U.S. press, thereby refuting the disinformers' schemes.

[Kornilov] Today direct contacts between politicians and military leaders, and also between military leaders themselves are becoming part and parcel of the East-West dialogue. What is your opinion of the importance of and prospects for this kind of contact?

[Akhromeyev] Of course, top-level meetings are of decisive importance in assessing each other's policy in the national security sphere and for removing mutual concerns. However, contacts between military leaders are also highly important because during such contacts we are able to become more familiar with each other's positions and, consequently, to create a firmer fabric of mutual understanding and trust. It is gratifying that Soviet-U.S. military contacts are now happening more and more frequently at various levels: Thus, a detachment of soviet warships recently visited the U.S. naval base at Norfolk, Virginia, and the U.S. sailors and the residents of the state welcomed their Soviet guests with warmth and friendship. Speaking in Congress, I issued an invitation on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense Affairs for a representative of the U.S. Armed Forces to address a session of the committee. Incidentally, during our talks president G. Bush also advocated developing military contacts between our two countries....

[Kornilov] My last question, Sergey Fedorovich, is about those talks. It is reported that they lasted almost an hour—what mainly did they cover?

[Akhromeyev] The talks were multifaceted. I conveyed M.S. Gorbachev's greetings and good wishes to the president; in turn, the president asked me to convey greetings and good wishes to the Soviet leader. G. Bush wished our perestroika success. A number of military-political questions were discussed in detail, and the President stressed that the United States intends to conduct serious talks with the USSR on the problems of arms control, striving for realistic, mutually acceptable results.... In my opinion the meeting was, on the whole, constructive. I left the White House feeling good. Taking account of the feeling of Americans—all sections of society—Soviet-U.S. relations can develop on an ascending line for the good of our two countries' peoples and the cause of world peace. The Soviet people also advocate this.

U.S. Senate Resolution on Karabakh Condemned

PM0408095789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "International Observer Answers a Reader": "Relapse Into Old Ambitions"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "I have heard that the U.S. Senate recently adopted a special resolution concerning Nagorno-Karabakh. How is this to be understood? In my opinion, the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is the Soviet Union's internal affair, which does not concern the U.S. Senate in the least. Or am I wrong in some way here? V.I. Istomin, Moscow."

No, you are absolutely right, Vladimir Ivanovich. Of course, the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh in no way comes within the competence of the Senate of the U.S. Congress. It is exclusively an internal matter for the Soviet Union, and no other state or its organs must interfere in it. However, at the suggestion of C. Pell, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the U.S. Senate adopted a resolution with a direct bearing on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. In the form of an amendment it was included in the draft law on appropriations for the State Department's activity in fiscal 1990.

This inflammatory—you cannot choose a different word—document groundlessly alleges that the Armenian people (note: the entire people!) in the USSR "are subjected to ethnic and economic discrimination, and their culture is suppressed." The resolution quite groundlessly makes a negative assessment of the activity of the Special Administration Committee. It practically demands that the Soviet Union agree to discuss the Karabakh problem in bilateral talks with the United States and to resolve it in a spirit pleasing to the U.S. Senate.

What aims did the senators set themselves in adopting such a resolution?

What is striking, above all, is the unconcealed desire to exacerbate still further the already complex situation around Nagorno-Karabakh and to step up tension in interethnic relations in the Soviet Union. The design here is not so much even to weaken our country, although this should not, of course, be discounted, but rather to undermine its prestige and authority in the international arena, which stand very high now.

But it is not only a matter of this.

It is obvious that the U.S. Senate's action is also aimed at hindering the further development of relations between the United States and the USSR, complicating the achievement of results in the current bilateral talks between them, including the talks on limiting strategic offensive arms, which are of such vital importance to all mankind, and preventing the expansion of cooperation between the two countries in various spheres. For some

reason the senators believe that all this is far more important for the Soviet Union than for the United States. In my opinion, they are mistaken in this. And it would be still more correct to say that they are fulfilling the social imperative of certain circles which dream of returning to the lamentable times of the "cold war."

Experienced politicians sit in the U.S. Senate. They know what they can and cannot do. Nevertheless, they continue to disregard the rights and interests of other countries and peoples and try to act according to the principle: "What is good for the United States must be good for the whole world."

State of USSR-U.S. Trade Links Viewed

PM0208112089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Uncleared Hurdles"]

[Text] Washington, July—If quantity always evolved into quality, then, with regard to Soviet-U.S. trade relations, we would probably now already be witnessing their rapid flowering. So many bilateral business contacts, symposiums, seminars, meetings, and conferences have taken place here recently that it is possible to beat the kettledrums of mutual understanding and fly on wings of euphoria toward mutual benefits. Only this is the rub—somehow neither side is particularly optimistic in its expectation of a "land flowing with milk and honey." Excessive caution? Caution, yes, only not excessive caution but realistic caution dictated by experience of the uneasy and painful history of Soviet-U.S. trade...

I repeatedly heard one and the same opinion at the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council session held not so long ago in a Washington suburb and then at the San Francisco conference "Trade with the USSR: Questions and Opportunities," organized by the local chamber of commerce. The opinion was voiced by different people—both ours and Americans. While far removed from self-deception, they nonetheless agreed that if they were to characterize the present mood in the U.S. business world from the viewpoint of trade ties with us, it was appropriate to speak most objectively of a switch from a temporizing regime to a regime of active work on arranging cooperation. Of course, this does not mean that goods will very soon flood in both directions. Moreover, it is no secret that the range of goods on our part is not particularly great owing to poor quality. It is a question of something else at this stage—of serious, active work by U.S. businessmen on a meticulous study of trade conditions, other countries' experience, and the normative and legislative acts adopted in the Soviet Union and, finally, on an examination of specific projects.

Several hundred U.S. companies are now engaged in this, including ones which annually feature on the list of the country's 500 biggest companies. More than 170 firms were represented at the American-Soviet Trade

and Economic Council session, for example, and approximately 350 in San Francisco. "There is colossal interest in trade with the USSR, particularly after Moscow reformed its foreign economic ties and gave Soviet enterprises and organizations the right to enter the foreign market," Garri Orbelyan [name as transliterated], vice president of San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and one of the initiators of the forum for businessmen from both countries, told me.

He was not exaggerating. His businessmen colleagues, who are following closely the course of perestroika in the Soviet Union, are increasingly realizing that the processes developing in our country have already created favorable preconditions for partnership. Particularly as certain groundwork already exists—more than 30 Soviet-U.S. joint ventures have been registered, negotiations are proceeding on the creation of approximately 100 more, and several dozen "letters of intent" have been signed. At the same time a qualitatively new form of cooperation has also appeared—the consortium, which is uncommonly promising and presupposes balanced, large-scale trade.

The priority of Soviet-U.S. commerce is firmly designated in consortiums, V. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, says. I am not at all pleased with the figure of \$3.5 billion (commodity turnover between the USSR and the United States—V.G.) because this is not trade but simply grain purchases. When the consortium starts working and we receive \$7-8 billion, that will be healthy trade giving the partners really what they need. It will give them petroleum products, plastics, and heat-treated products, which are in great demand in foreign markets. It will give us machinery and equipment, including for light industry and the food industry, consumer goods, and everything for which people have been yearning so much and for which they await from us.

For information: One Soviet-U.S. consortium already exists. It was decided at the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council session to begin negotiations on setting up a second one (in the sphere of health care and medical technology), and the emergence of a third one before the end of the year is a real prospect.

Recalling many complaints I have heard Americans make about the difficulties of doing business with Soviet organizations, I asked V. Malkevich: Is our approach to trade with the United States adequate? For this, for example, is what G. Orbelyan, vice president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, told me: "The dominance of red tape is still apparent in the Soviet approach. It takes an awfully long time to establish business contacts, to correspond, and even simply to receive an answer to a request. In the West one person can sometimes decide a particular question in 1 second, while you have first to go through a multitude of bodies. In addition, people are not sure of their rights, not sure of their powers."

Or take the problems encountered by the joint ventures created with the participation of the U.S. Combustion Engineering Company. Soviet staffers are only slowly overcoming the deeply ingrained habit of "working circumspectly." There is no way the Americans can "cope" with the interdepartmental "coordination" that nearly always goes on here. In nonflying weather in Nizhnekamsk, for example, the output of the joint venture set up there can be brought out overland. But in order to use road or rail transport we require the permission of several other ministries at once, a mass of agreements, and kilometers of paper correspondence.

What does V. Malkevich think about this?

"The approach is adequate," he said, "but the methods.... People are accustomed to being fearful, to being overcautious. In all countries a businessman has the right to take a risk and can sometimes even lose. It is important for him to be the gainer on the whole. But everything is different for us. If an individual deal proves unsuccessful, the next time that person will be afraid to take a risk. Negotiations proceed slowly—that is true. People who have never before dealt with foreign economic questions have now emerged onto the market. They have always lived for the task of fulfilling plans, and they have to be taught—taught marketing and management. It is necessary to prepare a new generation of specialists who will abolish the question of delays and lack of initiative. Incidentally, the Americans have expressed readiness to train our specialists, and they are undertaking even to finance this...."

From the window of the chairman's office on the 40th floor of the Bank of America building in San Francisco you can see ships slowly cutting through the water beneath the famous Golden Gate bridge.

"For me, a banker, preparedness to take a calculated risk is a talent which I deeply respect," O. Klauzen [name as transliterated], chairman of the bank's board, said. "Mikhail Gorbachev's campaign to implement radical economic reforms has the potential for tremendous progress by Soviet society and the entire world economy. The success of Mikhail Gorbachev's economic policy meets the interests of Americans, and we must do all we can—both as a country and as individuals—to support the reforms."

For Klauzen there is no place for sentimentality or for personal sympathies and antipathies in business questions. There is professional flair and the ability to look at the root of the matter and to think analytically and in the long term.

Klauzen clearly defines spheres of particularly fruitful cooperation. For our part, he believes, trade must be a two-way street—utilizing the achievements of the Soviet extracting industry, space technology, and scientific research in a number of very promising spheres. By helping the USSR to patent its advanced technology, the

United States could bring it onto world markets by means of joint ventures. U.S. companies in turn are in a position to offer the Soviet Union consumer goods and manufacturing processes with the aim of increasing labor productivity, as well as assistance in the spheres of management, marketing, and information.

Obviously, this far from complete list of the opportunities for active cooperation will immediately elicit the question: What is preventing us from embarking on realizing them and what occasions the still snail-like pace of Soviet-U.S. trade? In many respects the answer must be sought in Washington, where trade has become so politicized that absolutely no concepts of national interests are capable of reasonably substantiating its present status.

The primacy of political over economic considerations and conflicting positions, directives, and regulations have led to the result that, apart from the general slogan "don't allow it," the United States does not now have a harmonious trade policy or more or less definite aims. In practical terms the U.S. political line in this sphere puts you in mind, rather, of those days when the country was the world's undisputed financial and economic leader and when trade and foreign loans were expressed in insignificant figures in the national ledger. In those days the United States could afford to give priority not to trade interests but to questions of diplomacy, policy, and strategy.

In other words—and U.S. specialists point to this increasingly frequently—the question of a fundamental revision of Washington's approach to trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union has become urgent. And the revision would, in the end, realistically acknowledge trade not as a "favor" to Moscow but as a means of ensuring their own interests and as an important element of genuine national security.

Shortly before its departure the Reagan administration prepared the ground, in principle, for moves toward the normalization of trade relations. However, its successors decided to begin everything "with a clear desk." On Bush's instructions an interdepartmental analysis was launched which, apart from a general desire regarding the "cautious liberalization" of policy, has not yet led to anything. The document submitted to the President mainly enumerated the existing problems, but offered no recommendations on resolving them. Those with access to "informed sources" explained this quite simply: None of the new administration's leading members wants to actively tackle problems of Soviet-U.S. trade, and in the absence of an influential initiator the conflicting interests of the bureaucracy of the Department of Commerce, the Pentagon, and the State Department have led the matter into an impasse.

This version seems plausible. Nevertheless, something else is known too. The White House considers commercial relations with the USSR "one of the most delicate

questions," and any initiative in resolving it will inevitably arouse a storm of political passions. As a result, officials are more inclined to postpone this question.

Despite this stance, passions are still beginning to flare. At least three viewpoints have already become quite clearly apparent—a moderate "yes," an active "no," and a passive "let's wait and see," which is tantamount to that same "no." The arguments are chiefly over the three, probably most obvious, problems of bilateral trade relations: the Jackson-Vanik amendment, the question of credits, and export controls.

Until very recently no one in the U.S. Congress dared to murmur about the absurd restrictions on trade with the USSR. And only recently, when petitions came to Washington from the "captains of U.S. business," from former Congressman C. Vanik, coauthor of the well-known amendment, and from A. Stevenson, author of the amendment on credits, and when the "National Conference on Soviet Jewry," an influential organization here, voted in support of revising trade policy, did 19 members of Congress submit a resolution in both houses proposing "the temporary suspension of the Jackson-Vanik amendment." The leaders of both parties in the Senate and T. Foley, the new speaker of the House of Representatives, have already declared their support for this resolution. Couched in traditionally arrogant terms, it might strike some people as offensive, but in fact it is a step forward.

Something similar is now happening with U.S. export policy. Having always aroused displeasure and resistance among the allies—recall the affair of the embargo on the supply of equipment for the Siberia-West Europe gas pipeline—it is now being criticized to the greatest degree. Even by the NATO allies, including Britain and the FRG. They argue: It is not enough that the 17 member states of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls by no means embrace all markets, but Washington's proscriptive measures are too tough and bind the allies' firms hand and foot.

What do we see, as Americans themselves say, as the denominator? At present there is essentially no political backup for those who strive for fruitful cooperation between Soviet and U.S. business circles. It is understandable, as Senator B. Bradley said, that no one will implement perestroika for the Soviet people. And yet we are talking of trade, which has always been recognized as the normal state of human relations.

I have spoken with former U.S. Commerce Secretary W. Verity, with business "stars" O. Klauzen, D. Andreas, and D. Kendall, and with many other people known and unknown to our readers. Their unity of opinions can be invented but not contrived. They all advocated with one voice restructuring our commercial relations, basing them on realism and mutual advantage, and depoliticizing trade. But, alas, there is not yet a response from Washington. Although President G. Bush recently spoke

somewhat vaguely of a "change of approach," no movement is yet to be observed in practice. Secretary of State Baker still insists that the Soviet Union "must pay with concessions." Commerce Secretary Mosbacher is generally against any initiatives to develop our trade and economic relations, believing that they signify nothing and are even harmful...

This message has appeared in the store of the trading firm of Saks, Fifth Avenue, which is known throughout America and is a few minutes' walk from PRAVDA's Washington correspondent's center: "We take seriously our international relations. Particularly when it is a question of style. Therefore we constantly travel the world in search of what is most unique. Saks is always ahead of the times..." Thus, the firm advertises Soviet-made watches, which sell well here. The businessmen are absolutely right—they really are running ahead of the "political clock" by which the White House and the Capitol live today.

China

Gorbachev Cited on Normalizing PRC Relations

OW0308223089 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] On 1 August, when the Soviet leader Gorbachev was making a report to the USSR Supreme Soviet, he spoke on the significance of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Comrade Gorbachev noted: The Soviet Union has indicated its determination to take full advantage of the success of his visit to China, and the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet Union will promote cooperation of mutual benefit between the two countries in every field, including the field of advanced science and technology.

When Comrade Gorbachev touched on the Beijing incident in June, he pointed out: The process of change in China is a world phenomenon. Naturally, we wish the Chinese people success along the road of reform and the road they have chosen. However, it is inevitable that painful phenomena and conflicts will appear along this road.

Comrade Gorbachev said: We suggest that the authorities and the people resolve acute problems through political dialogue. This is our opinion, and the method we have chosen for ourselves. We believe that the people of each country should resolve their problems on their own. This is our irreversible and fundamental position.

First Meeting on Border Troop Reduction Planned

OW0308210289 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1200 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed in Beijing today that China and the Soviet Union will hold their first meeting on reduction of their armed forces on

the border areas. The exact date of the meeting will be decided through diplomatic channels. The agreement on the planned meeting was reached at a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Paris last Sunday [30 July]. The two foreign ministers attended the international conference on resolving the Cambodian issue there.

During his visit to China in May this year, a visit that normalized Soviet-Chinese relations, Comrade Gorbachev made a proposal on holding talks on demilitarization of Soviet-Chinese borders.

Maslyukov on Sino-Soviet Border Trade

OW0308230989 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] A regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet Commission for Economic, Commercial and Scientific-Technological Cooperation has concluded in Moscow. Our station reporter was present when a protocol was signed. The meeting discussed ways to expand cooperation between the two sides in the fields of power—including nuclear power, and of communications, metallurgical industry, coal industry, forestry, light industry, agriculture, medical science, and public health. The meeting also laid a firm foundation for development of cooperation up to the year 2000.

Maslyukov, head of the Soviet delegation and first deputy leader of Soviet Government, said in his assessment of the work of the Sino-Soviet Commission in Moscow: Our meetings and work were a continuation of the agreements reached during the summit meeting in May in China. We tried our best to show to our Chinese friends as many things as possible so that they could see our potential and determination for the cooperation. At our last meeting, we issued an open letter and expressed our aspirations for closer coordination in work.

Maslyukov pointed out the high degree of vigor in developing direct cooperation and border trade between some border regions and oblasts of Soviet republics and regions of the People's Republic of China. Maslyukov emphatically pointed out: The development has proceeded faster than we have estimated.

Commentary on Soviet-Chinese Economic Cooperation

OW0408041989 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Station observer Petrovskiy commentary; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Both the USSR and China maintain that development of direct business contacts in the two countries' border areas is of great significance. In fact, significant results have been achieved in this regard, and the Chinese government delegation headed by Song Jian, state

councillor and minister in charge of the PRC State Commission of Science and Technology, shared this view during its recent visit to the USSR.

Let me cite some figures to indicate the very active development of economic ties between the Soviet Far East and Northeast China. The volume of trade between these two regions in 1988 was 89.7 million rubles. That is more than the total trade volume during the preceding 5 years.

How does Soviet-Chinese trade do this year? The present situation shows that this year's trade volume will be more than double that figure.

Although trade is important, it is only part of the economic cooperation between the Soviet Far East and Northeast China. Today, priority is given to developing new forms of economic cooperation, such as production cooperation, cooperation in building and remodeling industrial projects and roads, and cooperation in service trades, joint ventures, and labor services.

These new forms of cooperation were simply nonexistent 2 years ago. In our view, such cooperation not only benefits both countries, but is also greatly significant because it can help the USSR and China deal with their economic problems.

Let me cite one example. During the next few years, the two countries will work together to erect power transmission lines linking up power networks of the Soviet Far East and Northeast China. This will enable the USSR to supply its surplus electricity of the Soviet Far East to Northeast China. This will provide significant support to Northeast China. Of course, as you know, inadequate power supply is one of the most acute problems of Northeast China.

By the same token China has been providing labor assistance to the USSR. This form of cooperation has developed substantially in recent times. The fact that Northeast China has surplus labor and certain parts of the Soviet Far East have a shortage of labor is primarily why the USSR and China are interested in this form of cooperation. So far, the Soviet Far East and China's Heilongjiang Province have signed some 100 contracts under which Chinese workers will take part in production and construction projects in the USSR.

At present skilled Chinese workers are taking part in building social, living, cultural, and industrial facilities in many parts of the Soviet Far East. Construction has been going on in Blagoveshchensk, Zabaykalsk, Grodekovo, and other cities and towns. Chinese workers are also taking part in road construction. They are rendering us assistance in building highways and repairing and rebuilding railways and roads.

Both the USSR and China maintain that this is only the beginning of their cooperation. As Song Jian, head of the Chinese government delegation, emphasized in Vladivostok a few days ago, China is convinced that in the next few years the several provinces of Northeast China and the Soviet Far East will see new and even greater development in direct contacts. He said: Without a doubt, these ties will play an even greater role in promoting Sino-Soviet goodneighborliness.

PRC's Jiang Cited on Trade Unions' Role Today
PM0308103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Relying on the Masses"]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Jul—The CPC must rely to the utmost on the working class in its activity. Recent events in the country showed that the proletariat can be boldly relied upon, Jiang Ze Min, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, declared at a conference of senior officials from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

The CPC is the vanguard of the working class, and the trade unions are the workers' mass organization, the leader of China's Communists said. Thus, the trade unions must act under the CPC's leadership taking the interests of the broad strata of workers into account, they must carefully heed their opinion and must play an active part in the process of the development of democracy. It is also incumbent upon them to promote the ideological and political education of working people in a spirit of devotion to socialism.

Shortcomings in the sphere of social distribution are, in Jiang Ze Min's opinion, one of the factors which had a negative effect on the moral condition of the workers' masses. It is necessary to restore justice in this matter. At the same time, we must continue the struggle against wage leveling and must impeccably implement the socialist principle of distribution according to labor, the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee emphasized.

Soviet Education Delegation Leaves for Beijing
OW0308211489 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet Union and China plan to hold a joint seminar in China at the end of July. The purpose of this seminar is to discuss the expansion of cooperation and to seek the most effective measures for improving primary and secondary education. In order to take part in the seminar, a delegation of the USSR Committee for Public Education, led by (Rasmovski), deputy director of the USSR Academy of Education, left Moscow for Beijing on 27 July.

Members of the delegation will brief their Chinese counterparts on the restructuring reform of primary and secondary education in the Soviet Union. They will also learn about educational reform in China.

Beijing International Fair Closes

OW0308230689 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Report by unidentified announcer with recorded portions by station reporter (Kaboyang); from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear listeners, the first international fair in Beijing, sponsored by the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, has ended. Our reporter (Kaboyang) reports:

[Begin (Kaboyang) recording in Russian fading into Chinese translation] The theme of the fair was looking for partners. This attracted industrialists from 24 countries. More than 600,000 people visited the fair, a testimony to the fact that it had wide appeal. Many contracts were signed during the fair. Representatives of industries in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries were satisfied with what they achieved at the fair. China is very familiar with products of the (Tardnarji) factory of Czechoslovakia. A new agreement was signed with this factory at the fair. [end recording]

[Announcer] Contacts are becoming more active today between Soviet and Chinese organizations and companies. The Soviet-Chinese Committee for Cooperation in Economy, Trade, and Science and Technology is holding its meetings in Moscow these days. According to the assessments made by the leaders of the two countries, there are bright prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China. Our report discusses more about the Beijing International Fair:

[Begin (Kaboyang) recording in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] It is not an exaggeration to say that Soviet foreign trade organizations demonstrated very high initiative at the Beijing fair. The most active among them are the (Tamar) Joint Automobile Plant, which produces large heavy duty trucks, the machine tools export corporation, and the international book company. What is noteworthy is that the Soviet Union sent a very large delegation to the fair. Most of the members of the delegation are general managers of various foreign trade organizations. They have the power to seal contracts or solve some problems of principle right there at the fair. [end recording]

[Announcer] In our view, this is a characteristic of the times and a direct result of the efforts made by the Soviet Union and China in the reform and opening to the outside world. Finally, we would like to note here that the second international fair is scheduled to open in Beijing 2 years from now.

Northeast Asia

'Direct Talks' on Sakhalin Koreans Proposed

SK0308130389 Seoul YONHAP in English 1239 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Seoul, Aug 3 (YONHAP)—The Soviet Red Cross has recently proposed in telegrams to its South Korean counterpart to have direct talks for discussing the repatriation of ethnic Koreans living in the Soviet territory of Sakhalin, sources at the Korean National Red Cross said Thursday.

The Korean Red Cross sent a reply Wednesday welcoming the Soviet proposal. It also decided to set up a liaison office in Sakhalin in consultation with relevant authorities, they said.

It marks the first time for the Soviet Union to define its official position on repatriation of Sakhalin-Koreans.

The telegrams of the Soviet Red Cross proposed to allow Koreans to send invitations to their relatives or acquaintances living in Sakhalin for home-visit or permanent settlement in South Korea. They also suggested to open a telex line between the two nations for a permanent dialogue channel, according to the sources.

Koreans in Sakhalin have so far visited and sent letters home via Japan with the help of civil organizations.

During the Second World War, about 1.5 million Koreans were taken abroad by imperial Japan and 150,000 of them ended up in Sakhalin doing forced labor for the construction of airfields and roads. Some 43,000 Koreans were stranded when the Soviet Union occupied the territory after the war. A survey conducted in last April shows 750 of the 37,000 surviving Koreans are left stateless and waiting to be repatriated.

Journalist Views Soviet-South Korean Relations

OW0408054689 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Vorontsov commentary—from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Vorontsov, editor of the Soviet Journal, PROBLEMY DALNEGO VOSTOKA, recently visited South Korea. The following is a short commentary he wrote for a foreign weekly:

Is there any future for economic cooperation between the USSR and South Korea? During my visit to Seoul, this issue invariably came up in the many conversations I had with local people. Local experts place high hopes on cooperation in the development of Siberia and the Far East, and they try to turn various forms of trade and economic relations into reality. Without a doubt, time is short for the proponents of perestroika in the USSR and

for South Korean businessmen. If we say these businessmen have rich experiences, then the bureaucratic system in the USSR can be described as being in the process of accommodating a new reality and is cautiously approaching the possibility of establishing appropriate and modern economic ties. The overcentralized management of Soviet international economic relations has on more than one occasion disappointed the businessmen. It has destroyed the prestige of Soviet perestroika in their minds.

In South Korea I could clearly sense that a lot of work remains to be done. Today Moscow and Seoul have commercial agencies in one another's cities, and their relations have also developed in other spheres. South Korean citizens have made friends with Soviet cultural workers and athletes, and Soviet ballet performances have deeply impressed the people in Seoul. Here, Soviet journalists have also found new places. South Korean publishers have proposed an exchange of newspapers and magazines, and have said that contacts between media representatives are very useful. Their interests in socialist countries are increasing. A library opened in Seoul in late May with a collection of 10,000 copies of books and magazines about socialist countries.

Everywhere in Seoul we could meet South Korean people who were eager to know more about our country. Comrade Gorbachev's book on perestroika and new thinking has become one of the must-reads of the South Korean people. Local scholars and journalists said they really wanted to shape their own view toward the USSR—a strange country to them—a view not influenced by Sovietologists of the West.

Soviet people are also keenly interested in South Korea. The articles published by Soviet newspapers and magazines on South Korea can satisfy some people's interests, and they reflect the new thinking in solving the pressing problems in the Asia-Pacific region.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

'Realism' Needed at Paris Conference on Cambodia
PM0308092889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondents M. Ilinskiy and Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "Realism and Good Will Necessary. The International Conference on Cambodia Is Taking Place in Paris"]

[Text] Paris—The international center in Avenue Kleber in Paris. The International Conference on Cambodia has started work here. There are 18 countries participating, as well as the United Nations, represented by its secretary general, and a delegation from the Nonaligned Movement.

Let us draw historical parallels. The preparations for the completion of the International Conference on Indochina were taking place here in Paris 35 years ago, and in January 1973, the agreement on putting an end to war and restoring peace in Vietnam was also signed here. Will continuity be maintained and will there be an end to the long-drawn-out conflict in Cambodia where there has been so much suffering?

Judging by the first day of the session, the participants in the Paris forum are determined to do their utmost so that the process of a peace settlement can begin as quickly as possible.

The speech of E.A. Shevardnadze was of great interest—he particularly called on all delegates to use this international platform not to blame and attack one another but to seek constructive decisions on the Cambodian problem. (E.A. Shevardnadze's speech and other material from Paris are on page 4).

Opening the conference as one of its cochairmen, French Foreign Minister R. Dumas spoke in support of a global resolution of the Cambodian conflict, which would include the internal and foreign aspects of the problem. It is necessary to work out international guarantees, the French minister noted, which would ensure the restoration of Cambodia's sovereignty and its neutrality.

Our conference must overcome two basic difficulties, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar stated in his speech. First of all, it must assist in resolving the differences in the positions of the four Cambodian sides and do so in a short space of time. In addition, the participants will discuss a wide range of questions concerning the creation of an international verification mechanism and also a status for Cambodia that will guarantee its independence, neutrality, and security.

National reconciliation, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker said, must be achieved by forming an interim coalition government under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The United States is prepared to support Sihanouk if he considers it necessary to include all the Khmer groups in the interim coalition. At the same time, our support of any Cambodian government is inversely proportional to the degree of "Khmer Rouge" participation in it. There must be guarantees that Pol Pot or other leaders guilty of mass murder will never again hold positions of domination in this country.

In accordance with the existing agreement, the Cambodian delegation at the Paris forum includes leaders from the four opposing sides. They have various approaches to settling the conflict. This became obvious again on the first day in the speeches of Prince Sihanouk and Hun Sen, head of government of the State of Cambodia.

Norodom Sihanouk stated that the Cambodian problem has only one aspect: "aggression," "military occupation," and "vietnamization." In Sihanouk's opinion, the withdrawal of all SRV troops by the end of September 1989 does not mean the departure of all the Vietnamese from Cambodian territory, because, as the prince affirms, there are still a large number of Vietnamese servicemen in the country wearing Cambodian uniforms.

For his part, Hun Sen expounded his concept of the Cambodian problem, which fundamentally resulted from the Pol Pot regime's policy of genocide. So as to prevent the possibility of civil war after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, he said, and to create conditions for the process of national reconciliation and for holding elections, the government of the State of Cambodia has proposed a cease-fire under international verification. Various countries, Hun Sen went on to stress, must take on a commitment to stop military and other aid to all sides in the conflict.

'Progress' Noted at Conference

BK0408064189 *Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia*
1230 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] The international conference in Paris is continuing its work. An agreement has been reached on the dispatch of a fact-finding mission to seek information and make preparations relating to the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. Three committees have been set up; their duties are to further seek ways for the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers, stressed his government's resolution that the last batch of Vietnamese combatants will leave Cambodian territory on 26 September.

Our commentator, Comrade Geliy Shakov, writes:

In their assessments of the outcome of the conference, the international observers—both in the East and the West—shared similar views that important, positive progress has been made on the road toward settling the Cambodian conflict.

Heads of the various delegations attending the Paris conference also made similar comments. PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen expressed satisfaction with the results of all his meetings in Paris. He noted that the conference on Cambodia started out well thanks to the efforts of all participating parties.

The work of this conference was positively valued by Soviet Foreign Minister Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, Cambodian Prime Minister Comrade Hun Sen, and leaders of various other delegations.

Such a development in the effort to find a peaceful solution to the situation in Cambodia makes everyone happy.

Although Western newspapers had made many pessimistic predictions, and despite the fact that representatives of the Pol Pot clique had attempted to obstruct the dialogue, a new step of advance could still be made.

In this connection, particular attention should be paid to the statement made by the head of the Chinese delegation, in which he emphasized indirectly that he had exerted pressure on the Khmer Rouge group that had tried to prevent the Paris conference from approving a number of important initiatives. This clearly and undeniably indicated the Chinese side's goodwill and desire to enable the conference to achieve success.

Another significant contribution to this process is the Cambodian delegation's proposal that the election of the National Assembly be held in the country within 3 months after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops.

However, all these events do not mean that a peaceful solution to the conflict in Cambodia has already been totally ensured. There still exist many difficulties and obstacles. This is the point that Comrade Shevardnadze stressed particularly. The comrade pointed out the need to devise measures that can prevent the genocidal regime from returning to power in Cambodia, that ensure the cessation of military aid to all warring factions, and that ensure Cambodia's neutral status.

On his part, Cambodian leader Comrade Hun Sen noted the need to ensure that Cambodia will never join any military pact, that no foreign troops are allowed to march into Cambodia again in the future, and that foreign military aid to the various factions in Cambodia is ended.

Summing up the above-mentioned events, it should be noted that the process toward solving the conflict in Cambodia has just obtained a new, important impetus—a cause for being optimistic. However, it still requires additional efforts from all parties and concrete work to permanently settle the Cambodian problem.

Rogachev, SRV's Tran Quang Co Confer 27 Jul

PM0308144989 *Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
29 Jul 89 *Morning Edition* p 5

[TASS report: "Conversation in the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] A meeting took place on 27 July in the USSR Foreign Ministry between A.I. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Tran Quang Co, SRV deputy foreign minister, who stopped over in Moscow on his way to Paris to take part in the work of the international conference on Cambodia.

During the conversation, paramount attention was devoted to questions connected with the development of the situation around Cambodia in the context of the forthcoming international Paris forum.

The sides confirmed their willingness for constructive collaboration with other participants in the conference.

Burmese Leader's House Arrest Discussed

BK0308141589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 3 Aug 89

["Discussion" between U San Khin and U Kyaw Zaw entitled: "What Is Happening in Burma?"]

[Text] [U San Khin] We have been hearing exceptional and amazing news lately. According to a dispatch from the AP correspondent in Bangkok, Moe Thiha, one of the three Burmese nationals sentenced to death by a military tribunal for an alleged bomb explosion at Syrian oil refinery, is currently taking refuge in Thailand, and he has dismissed charges against him and other members of the National League for Democracy [NLD]. He told the reporters that this is an attempt by the Myanmar [Burma] authorities to smear the image of the NLD.

[U Kyaw Zaw] On the other hand, Moe Thiha's statement can be described as a riposte aimed at demeaning the current Burmese authorities. Why? Because, according to a statement by Moe Thiha, the sentence passed by the military tribunal is a dishonest act aimed at casting dark shadows on the NLD which is the major opposition party which is forging ahead in Myanmar.

[U San Khin] I would not like to say yet whether the statement by this person is honest or not. I would not like to take sides. There is no conclusive evidence as yet to (?support) one side and blame the other side. One notable situation, as pointed out by the Western press, is the appearance of a serious rift between the government and the party led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. I believe this is the most important point.

Regardless of the political situation in Myanmar, one question that has to be answered clearly is how are the elections to be held in order to overcome the economic problems confronting the Myanmar people.

[U Kyaw Zaw] While what you have said about the Western press agency reports are probably correct, TASS news agency has been upholding its views on Myanmar economy and has been reporting on these problems and related issues.

The TASS correspondent in Yangon [Rangoon], (Lukov), recently reported that Colonel Abel, minister of trade, spoke at the inaugural ceremony for the private enterprise center in Yangon.

[U San Khin] This was also reported by Loktha Pyeithu Nezin.

[U Kyaw Zaw] He said the private sector has been restored and that the private sector is to be effectively reestablished with assistance from the state.

[U San Khin] Such efforts must be welcomed. However, it can be viewed from another angle. [words indistinct]

[U Kyaw Zaw] According to newspapers in Myanmar, the Myanmar Government is very much hoping to receive international assistance. Loktha Pyeithu Nezin has openly reported that the United Nations Development Program has been giving substantial assistance to Myanmar with the aim of providing expertise and modern technology to develop the private sector. It can be also seen that great hopes are pinned on foreign assistance since the open door policy for foreign entrepreneurs was declared after the military government led by General Saw Maung came to power.

According to Col Abel, more than 400 foreign companies have registered with trade agencies to deal with the Myanmar Government, cooperatives, and private enterprises. Col Abel told the TASS correspondent that companies from U.S., Switzerland, South Korean, Australia, and other companies are expected to sign contracts during September in Yangon to establish joint ventures.

[U San Khin] Meanwhile, observers are saying that such joint ventures are limited because there has been no normalization of relations between Myanmar and the West. At present, there are no signs that the Western countries will reconsider their current policy toward Burma. More charges of human rights violation in Burma are being heard since the house arrest of the NLD leaders, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin U.

[U Kyaw Zaw] We would like to present the TASS correspondent's comments here in connection with the house arrest of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin U. It is as follows:

The current military authorities appear to have isolated the NLD leaders to weaken the strength of the opposition. The role of a strong political leader of an organization which recently emerged last year under the nascent opposition movement is very important.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is a key figure among those opposing the forces of the military government. However, there are signs that a second batch of leaders are emerging among the opposition. There is a question as to whether they will be able to replace the leaders who have been isolated. There is no answer to it as yet.

Under the current situation, a measure taken by the authorities, that is, the freeing of criminals under an amnesty, can bring about certain developments. TASS recalled the development of the anarchic situation and looting following the freeing of criminals from prisons last summer and how local authorities subsequently exploited the situation.

It can be asked how credible is the view of the TASS correspondent. Is it not?

[U San Khin] But, TASS among the internal press agencies carry most objective and accurate reports on Burma. This is not my personal view. This has been said by U Soe Nyunt, managing director of the News and Periodicals Corporation, during his meeting with the Soviet correspondents during his recent visit to Moscow.

[U Kyaw Zaw] Can it not be taken as sweet words spoken by a guest to please the hosts?

[U San Khin] It cannot be. TASS did not invite the Burmese journalist to visit the Soviet Union. He was invited by APN which is a nongovernmental organization disseminating news about the Soviet Union and development in the Soviet Union.

In the program next week, reports about Burma by the TASS correspondent in Yangon will be introduced to listeners.

[U Kyaw Zaw] Very well, we shall listen to it then. We end this program now for the listeners.

Near East & South Asia

Katushev-led Delegation Begins Talks in Libya
LD0308180789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Tripoli, 3 Aug (TASS)—Soviet-Libyan talks on questions of further development of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya began here on Thursday [3 August]. The Soviet government delegation headed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, had a meeting with F. al-Shakshuki, secretary of the People's Committee for Petroleum. Sessions of working groups to discuss specific questions of bilateral cooperation in various fields have begun.

K.F. Katushev today met with Mubarak al-Shamikh, secretary of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya Supreme People's Committee for Communications and Maritime Transport.

Further Reportage on Heightened Mideast Tension

Cicippio Execution Threat Suspended
LD0308193689 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Beirut August 3 TASS—A Shi'ite organisation, which is holding U.S. hostage Joseph Cicippio, said on Thursday that it had suspended his execution.

The Revolutionary Justice Organisation sent a statement to the Lebanese newspaper AL-NAHAR, saying that the group had "frozen" the execution sentence. The kidnappers also sent a photo of Cicippio.

The American was kidnapped in September 1986 in Beirut where he was working at American University.

U.S. Naval Maneuvers Cited
LD0308172689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Leading British TV companies, the BBC and ITV [independent television] opened their news bulletins with a report that as the time limit draws nearer for the second U.S. hostage's execution, planned by the terrorists, U.S. warships are massing in the Mediterranean. At the same time, the terrorists have declared that there will be no limits to their revenge if Israel does not release Shaykh 'Ubayd and if the United States carries out an attack on them. Having reported that President Bush had a telephone conversation with Margaret Thatcher regarding the hostage problem, ITV noted that the British prime minister laid special stress on diplomatic measures for overcoming the crisis.

Reaction to Higgins Slaying
PM0308141589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Roundup prepared by V. Skosyrev (Moscow) and V. Lashkul (Beirut): "Crisis Around Lebanon Worsens. Terrorists Threaten to Murder More Hostages. U.S. 6th Fleet Maneuvers in the Mediterranean"]

[Text] The spiral of violence in and around Lebanon is growing increasingly taut. In the wake of the killing of U.S. Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, the threat of execution has loomed over other U.S. and West European hostages, who are, presumably, in the hands of extremist groupings.

According to UPI, several hours after a video recording was circulated in Beirut showing the hanged lieutenant colonel, "the organization for revolutionary justice," an offshoot of the Hizballah party, announced that it would execute John Cicippio, a U.S. university employee in Beirut, if the Israelis do not release Shaykh A. 'Ubayd. A color photograph of the bearded smiling Cicippio was affixed to the letter sent to a Beirut newspaper. The photograph was obviously to confirm that the American is indeed being held by the people who sent the letter.

Almost at the same time an AP office on Cyprus was telephoned by a man describing himself as a representative of the "organization of the oppressed of the earth," which executed Higgins. He said that the Church of England's envoy Terry Waite, who disappeared while trying to act as intermediary to free foreign hostages in Lebanon, is also being held by this grouping. The caller threatened that Terry Waite would suffer Higgins' fate.

REUTER reports that there are now 10 Americans, 4 Britons, and 8 citizens from other states being held hostage in Lebanon. These people's fate depends both on the Muslim extremists who captured them and on the

Israeli authorities who organized the abduction of Shaykh 'Ubayd and his retinue. Israeli Prime Minister I. Shamir claimed, admittedly, that Israeli representatives have established contacts with various groupings to free the hostages. However, he refused to give any details in this connection. Journalists believe that Tel Aviv is trying to organize an exchange of all Shi'ites captured by the Israeli Army in Lebanon in return for three Israeli soldiers and the foreign hostages.

At the same time the killing of Lt Col Higgins met with virtually unanimous condemnation from the international community. Foreign agencies have quoted the USSR foreign ministry statement and cited the words of the Swedish prime minister, the French president, the president of the Italian Senate, and leaders of other states expressing indignation at this inhuman act. The Western press is at the same time voicing increasingly loud criticism of Israel, which provoked the current series of terrorist acts by sending its "commandos" into the Hizballah camp.

"In an attempt to play the role of noble avengers in the Near East, as they did in the sixties and seventies, the Israelis are risking falling into a dangerous snare," Switzerland's LA SUISE newspaper affirms. Geneva's LA TRIBUNE DE GENEVE makes an even more serious charge. It believes that Israel may have created a hopeless situation deliberately to "prove" that talks with the Arabs are impossible.

Washington has hitherto kept its cool at this difficult moment. But a report has come from Beirut that the U.S. aircraft carrier "Coral Sea" carrying 80 aircraft and escorted by two cruisers has set off for the Mediterranean in a hurry. In the opinion of Lebanon's NNA, the aircraft carrier is to join the ships of the 6th fleet, which have been brought to a state of combat readiness. Observers in Beirut voice the misgiving that if the U.S. armada goes to Lebanon, this will exacerbate the crisis still further. Especially since U.S. officials admit that they have no information as to who is holding the hostages.

Iran Role in Higgins Murder Viewed

*LD0308193489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Arabic 1330 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Text] The killing of U.S. Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins by extremist Lebanese Shi'ite Muslims and the kidnapping prior to that of Shaykh 'Ubayd are virtually the main events in international politics. All media and all discussions by politicians and people in the streets are focusing on these events.

This event, or [words indistinct] these two events have, as had been expected, far reaching consequences. Thus, the U.S. Aircraft Carrier Coral Sea has cut short its visit to Egypt and headed towards Lebanese shores. This in itself is a sufficient feature (?of the situation). In this respect, who

is the beneficiary of the crime of brutally killing the U.S. lieutenant colonel, a crime that was stimulated by the kidnapping of the Lebanese Shi'ite shaykh?

It is no secret that the Lebanese Hizballah party is influenced by Iran. For that reason, some of the responsibility for the killing of Higgins was immediately laid at the feet of Iran. The time chosen for this action should be emphasized. Thus, the [words indistinct] elections which brought 'Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani to power in Iran have ended. He enjoys the reputation of being a pragmatist and seeks to bring Iran out of its isolation where it can pursue its policies in a civilized manner. Also, we should not forget that his first official visit prior to his election as president of the republic was to the Soviet Union.

It is extremely unlikely that the order for the execution of Higgins came from Tehran. However, in spite of that, the Western media has with one voice hurled its hot accusation toward it. Thus, the attempt to smear the reputation of the new Iranian leadership and to sabotage its efforts to break out of its isolation and embark on postwar economic reconstruction can be clearly seen. It should not be forgotten that religious forces [ar al-quwah al-salafiyyah] are interested in weakening the position of Hashemi Rafsanjani.

[Words indistinct] one side of the issue. From another side, Israel has found a superficial pretext for lighting the fire of a new anti-terrorist campaign. It is absolutely possible that may mean [words indistinct] for the sake of eliminating the "havens of terrorism," as it is said in Israel. We once again recall that the direct cause of the execution of William Higgins was the kidnapping of Shi'ite shaykh 'Abd ad-Karim 'Ubayd by Israeli commandos.

Third, and last but not least, with the [words indistinct] just annoyance and condemnation of the crime, it would seem that what is happening in the occupied Arab territories has become second in importance. That is, the principle issue in the Middle East—the Palestinian issue—has, albeit temporarily, been overshadowed. This allows the Zionists to intensify the repression of the Palestinian uprising, that is to practice terrorism itself but at the level of the state.

The death of William Higgins is undoubtedly a crime. It is an inexcusable and brutal crime. However, as the Russian proverb says, even a cock is useless without anything! Thus, upon the death of an innocent person, a dirty political game is being played, a game which, so far as can be seen, requires more human blood.

U.S.-Soviet Talks on Afghanistan Assessed

*LD0308151789 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT
3 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The Soviet-American consultations on Afghanistan, held at Stockholm from July 31 to August 1, had the purpose of exchanging views

on the question of settling the Afghan problem, comparing evaluations and views on the development of the Afghan situation, probing ways for joint efforts to settle the issue shortly, Nikolay Kozyrev, Soviet ambassador at large, said at a briefing here today. He headed the Soviet delegation to Stockholm.

The consultations, he continued, proceeded in a very frank atmosphere. In spite of the still existing deep-going differences on possible ways to break the deadlock in Afghanistan, the sides have arrived at the conclusion that the exchange of views was useful and should be continued in the future.

Nikolay Kozyrev said that the consultation participants have agreed that Afghanistan should in the future be an independent, nonaligned, neutral state, friendly towards its neighbours, including the Soviet Union. Both sides come out on the whole for a political settlement of the problem, although in this matter the words of the Americans are at variance with their deeds. The views of the sides also coincide on the question of repatriating refugees.

As to the differences, they consist in that the USSR regards as the main prerequisite for achieving a political settlement in Afghanistan the opening of an inter-Afghan dialogue to set up subsequently a broadly-based government with the participation of all political forces now active in the country without any exceptions. Envisaged also is the participation in the future coalition government of representatives of the present Afghan government, representatives of President Najibullah. The American side objects bluntly to this.

The United States, the armed opposition and Pakistan stake on a military solution of the problem. This stake, and the Soviet side cannot agree to it, contradicts all standards of international law, principles of non-confrontational approach, which the Soviet Union pursues in the international arena, interests of security in the region and all over the world.

The Soviet diplomat said that the U.S. representatives had reaffirmed their readiness to render assistance in setting free Soviet war prisoners captured in Afghanistan.

Kornilov on U.S. Posture Concerning Afghanistan
LD0308162889 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuri Kornilov:

It was not only Kabul that looked forward to this meeting as demands mounted worldwide to put an end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan and to stave off the festering seat of tension. Therefore, the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Stockholm which looked into the situation in and around Afghanistan gave rise to certain hopes and drew the attention of the public and the press.

Today when summing up the results of the meeting, one can say with regret that these hopes have failed to materialize. Washington still clings to the so-called "tough" posture, which consists in continuing open and escalating interference in the affairs of sovereign Afghanistan, encouraging and supporting extremists from the irreconcilable opposition, and lavishly supplying weapons to rebels, in violation of the spirit and letter of the Geneva accords. In the past six months the terrorists received from their patrons nearly 400,000 rocket projectiles for shelling civilian cities.

In a bid to justify their destructive line, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly, who headed the U.S. side at the Stockholm Talks, propounds a thesis that the USSR is supplying a "great amount" of weapons to Kabul. Indeed, the Soviet Union renders assistance to the legitimate Afghan government, including the military sphere. However, it is well-known that the Soviet Union persistently proposed to halt deliveries to the conflicting sides on a reciprocal basis. Why did Kelly forget about this? Why did he never mention to journalists in Stockholm the reasons which prompted the American side to refuse to meet halfway the Soviet proposals?

The reasons of such a posture appear to be an open secret. Selfsame Kelly disclosed the main one in Stockholm when he said bluntly that there should be a different regime in Kabul. Obviously, those who stand behind the counterrevolution intend to topple the legitimate Afghan government by any methods, to eliminate the republican system and restore feudal orders in Afghanistan.

The nonconstructive, if not aggressive, position of Washington and Islamabad is the main cause of the continuing fratricidal war in Afghanistan. However, the recent developments when the rebels not only failed to attain their goals, as was the case in storming Jalalabad, but also suffered one defeat after another show that the attempts to impose on the Afghan people a system which they reject and a sham government, cobbled out of the boundaries of Afghanistan, have no prospects.

In the course of a dialogue on Afghanistan held by Moscow and Washington, it becomes increasingly clear who favors strict compliance with the Geneva Accords, signed more than a year ago, and who tries to wreck these agreements.

Afghan Gen Tanay on Defense Situation
PM0308160089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General Shahnawaz Tanay, member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee Politburo and defense minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik in Kabul: "The Army Defends the Republic"—date of interview not given]

[Text] Kabul—[Oliynik] Comrade Colonel General, a loud rumble characteristic of rockets being launched has

just been heard on Kabul's southern outskirts. If it is not a secret, against whom are they directed?

[Tanay] Yes, you are right. In accordance with a Supreme Command Headquarters decision, it was the launching of four tactical missiles against targets in the Khowst Region, where the situation has currently deteriorated severely. For more than a month rebels numbering 12,000 men have been continuously attacking the defenders of khowst. The attacks are carried out in three salients, with the support of tanks and heavy armaments. Pakistani militias have repeatedly taken part in combat operations. Despite this, the garrison, which is basically cut off from the outside world and whose backbone consists of the 25th infantry division headed by Lieutenant General Faruk, is staunchly defending itself. We are helping the defenders of khowst as best we can. An airlift is in continuous operation, supplying ammunition and medical supplies and bringing out the wounded. As for our terrible weapons, the tactical missiles, they are intended first and foremost to hit base areas and weapons dumps. In the last 5 months several dozen of them have been launched. We are forced to use these weapons as long as the opposition continues the war and carries out rocket shellings of peaceful cities.

[Oliynik] So it is war until victory?

[Tanay] No. We are resolutely opposed to armed struggle. Our government is persistently pursuing the policy of national reconciliation, and seeks only one thing—a speedy end to the war. President Najibullah mentioned this yet again in his recent speech on Kabul radio. He called on the commanders of armed formations operating within the country to enter into talks with the government. We are prepared to examine with no preliminary conditions any proposals and initiatives aimed at ending the war. And it must be noted that many field commanders have already responded positively to this appeal. A dialogue is in progress with others.

However, the leaders of the Afghan opposition, the so-called transitional government headed by Mojaddedi, are still adhering to an implacable position and gambling on force of arms. At a recent conference in Peshawar, with the participation of the American and Pakistani intelligence services, the start of a new stage in the struggle to overthrow the existing power in Afghanistan was announced. Having suffered a crushing defeat in open fighting with the Afghan Army near Jalalabad and in a number of other regions, the opposition is placing increasing emphasis on subversive work among government troops and on luring unstable individuals over to their side. The so-called "psychological warfare program" against Afghanistan has also now come into force, which identifies as the main targets of ideological influence servicemen in the Afghan Army, especially the Air Force, and young people and students.

At the same time the opposition is continuing to step up combat operations on the Jalalabad Front, and also in the Khowst, Qandahar, and Herat salients and around Kabul. The shelling of these regions, particularly Kabul, has been stepped up sharply. The opposition uses for its barbarous purposes longer-range missiles obtained from the United States, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and other countries.

[Oliynik] What is the military-political situation in the country in general now, where are the hottest spots?

[Tanay] As before, the hottest spots are in the regions bordering on Pakistan. Fierce fighting is now under way near Khowst and Jalalabad, and the situation is also tense around Qandahar and Kabul, where large opposition formations are concentrated.

Of the 31 provinces, only 6 are now entirely held by the opposition. They are Konarha, Paktia, Bamian, Takhar, Kapisa, and Nurestan. In general the military-political situation in Afghanistan remains complex and contradictory, and requires us to mobilize all forces and resources for the defense of the motherland. The situation is defined by, in my view, the two most important aspects. On the one hand, by the more resolute military-political and strategic objectives of the rebels, who seek by any means available to overthrow the existing system and seize power in Afghanistan by any available means, not only by terrorist actions to destabilize the situation in the country, as in the past.

The other aspect is associated with the fact that, since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan territory, our Army and all Armed Forces have had to conduct combat actions autonomously. At the same time, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Afghan land weakened the political positions of the insurgents who relied on calls for "holy war." The insurgents are left with fewer supporters every day, following every fresh rocket salvo. Our people are tired of the war. One would like to hope that the Soviet-U.S. talks in Stockholm will further the quest for a peaceful solution to the Afghan problem.

[Oliynik] For many years the Western media assured the world public that the Afghan Army would not last a single day without help from Soviet troops. It is almost 6 months since the Soviet troops left Afghanistan, and the Afghan Army's soldiers are staunchly defending the republic. To what do you primarily attribute the Army's success WITH WHICH troops and units have especially distinguished themselves in battle?

[Tanay] Our Army's success over the opposition forces can be attributed to one single fact: The Army in the battlefield had faith that it can defeat the enemy. Soldiers of the Afghan Army and all Armed Forces realized that they were the only ones to defend the motherland and their families. This is why our tank soldiers, paratroopers, airmen, and sappers are fighting courageously and staunchly. Among those who have distinguished

themselves in battle I could mention the 25th, 60th, and 40th Infantry Divisions, the 15th Tank Brigade, all paratroop and assault units, the special purpose guards, both combat and transport aviation, and the missile battery [raketnyy divizion]. Let me cite one more figure: The country's Armed Forces have killed or wounded about 25,000 insurgents in the last 6 months.

We owe the skill of fighting and effectively utilizing new types of equipment, arms, and aviation to the soldiers of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. I would like to take this opportunity to convey many thanks for this to the USSR government and all Soviet people. We also thank the Soviet Union for the economic aid which is now developing on the basis of new principles. For the Kabul-Tashkent airlift which is in constant operation and continues to deliver grain and fuel.

[Oliynik] What problems does the Army face today, and specifically what is the SITUATION CONCERNING desertion?

[Tanay] Just like in any other fighting Army, our main problem is the acute shortage of human resources, especially combat profession specialists—airmen, tank soldiers, artillery servicemen.... The point is that, despite the war, we effect demobilization from the ranks of the Armed Forces twice a year. Add to this the number of killed and wounded. As for desertion, the number of such incidents has declined by 30 percent compared with last year. But even now there are frequent cases of desertion or hijacking of aircraft and helicopters. Unfortunately, traitors to the motherland recently hijacked two helicopters to Pakistan.

[Oliynik] One last question, comrade colonel general. When was the last time you were on leave?

[Tanay] The most difficult question. I took proper leave 10 years ago, while I was still a company commander. And when the undeclared war began, there was no time for rest. Judging by the situation, neither I nor any of the Afghan Army soldiers are likely to take leave very soon. A decisive and crucial moment in our struggle against the opposition is approaching now. Even though I emphasize that we are not banking [ne delayem stavki] on military victory. I am convinced that the Afghan problem can and must be solved not on the battlefield but around the roundtable of talks, on the basis of dialogue between all forces involved in the conflict.

Soviet Diplomat Stresses Arab Economic Ties
LD0408105289 Kuwait KUNA in English 0849 GMT
4 Aug 89

[By Abid al-Sayyed]

[Text] Moscow, Aug 4 (KUNA)—A Soviet diplomat Friday said that developing economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries was an issue of "utmost importance."

Deputy Director of the Mideast Settlement Section at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Middle East Department Robert Turdiyev told KUNA in an interview that his country was currently passing through a fateful era that cannot rely on emotional evacuation of international relations.

He said that Soviet authorities' concern with internal problems inevitably would reflect on Soviet foreign policy.

Ever since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in the Soviet Union a new wave of restructuring (perestroika) of economic and political life within the country had been on the move as well as the policy of glasnost or openness.

Turdiyev, meanwhile, refuted claims that the Soviet Union has an interest in prolonging the Middle East conflict to ensure continuation of amicable relations with the Arab countries.

He asserted that it was in Moscow's higher interests to achieve urgent and comprehensive peace in the region.

The Soviet official said that his country had succeeded in changing the international stances toward the Mideast conflict from calls for direct and bilateral negotiations to an international peace conference.

Turdiyev said that an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab lands will not achieve peace unless it is coupled with a peace treaty that ensures the rights of all countries and peoples in the region to living within secure and recognized borders.

He said that another important factor in such a settlement was the Palestinian people's national, legitimate rights and pointed out in this respect that the Palestinian intifada [uprising] was a civilized reflection of the Palestinian people's political will.

The uprising had foiled the Israeli claims that a Mideast settlement was possible without taking into consideration the Palestinian people's national rights.

Asked to evaluate the Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir's election plan for the occupied territories, he ridiculed the attached conditions particularly denying the East Jerusalem Arabs the right to share in the elections and ending the uprising before conducting them.

He described those conditions as unobjective, affirming that the uprising posed as a kind of public referendum.

Soviet-Israeli contacts, he said, aim at ensuring direct contacts to relay Soviet views. He underlined that Moscow urges Tel Aviv to give up force and resort instead to balance of interests.

Turdiyev further underscored his country's readiness to establish full and good relations with all countries in the region.

He described as dangerous the Middle East region in view of the arms race there which, he said, hinders progress of settlement efforts and pointed to European countries' fears from such a race and warned that any new armed conflict in the region will lead to serious repercussions.

Turdiyev, meanwhile, said that Soviet diplomacy in the Gulf region targets reaching practical steps to implement the Security Council Resolution 598 on the Iraq-Iran dispute to reach a final and comprehensive settlement.

Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S. 'Joint Efforts' in Africa Applauded
EA0308175089 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1530 GMT 2 Aug 89

[From the "Africa as We See It" program]

[Text] Can peace finally be achieved in Africa? This is what we asked Soviet journalist and APN observer Boris Kozlov. The following is his reply:

I myself have not lost hope, even for a few hours. In my opinion, there is no doubt that peace will prevail on the African Continent. Furthermore, the events of the past few weeks have offered new hope in this regard. Of course, the African situation remains complex. Regional conflicts that come and go over a period of time have not been settled completely. Among these are the situation in southern Africa and the Horn of Africa, the conflict between Chad and Libya, and the former conflict between Uganda and Kenya.

With that said, there is a new thinking that has begun to have a positive influence on the political situation in Africa. The idea that peace and justice cannot be achieved by military force is gaining ground. An example of this is the current situation in southern Africa. In accordance with the agreements signed between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, tangible steps have been taken to solve the situation in Southwest Africa. On this basis, peace in Angola is to be restored and, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435, Namibia is to become independent. It will also be recalled that a cease-fire agreement was signed between the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

On the Ethiopian situation, Boris Kozlov said the government forces and the opposition forces in Eritrea have been trying for many years to solve the conflict between them militarily. However, time has shown that such a path is fruitless, and, in light of this, the Ethiopian leaders recently

presented a peace initiative. Furthermore, it is hoped that the conflict between Chad and Libya and the Mozambican conflict will be resolved shortly.

We asked Boris Kozlov: Are you saying, then, that the new thinking that has penetrated international fora is opening the way for the peace process in Africa?

He replied: Yes, that's correct. The degree of confidence developing between the USSR, the USA, and other Western nations is related to the peaceful resolution of African conflicts. We are seeing that their joint efforts are beginning to bear fruit. Of course, there are differences between the superpowers in some areas.

Some listeners say in their letters that the close stance between the USSR and the USA on some issues is alarming. They ask: Will this closeness between the two superpowers harm Africa? In reply, Boris Kozlov said: This kind of closeness will help rather than harm the African people because the Soviet Union and America are making joint efforts to bring peace to the African people. There is evidence from the past that this kind of closeness has always benefited Africa. For instance, look at Angola and Namibia. Africa should not be a theater for the face-to-face confrontation of foreign powers. In this manner, African governments will achieve political and economic stability.

On the role of the Soviet Union in achieving peace in Africa, he said that he was happy with the action taken by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, which until recently had been one of the conservative elements in the country in this regard. Today, Soviet diplomats, in changing their stances, are helping to bring conflicting parties to agreement in Africa and around the world. For instance, the Soviet Union is playing an active role in guaranteeing Angolan security and in stopping the war in that country. The Soviet Union is also involved in bringing stability to Ethiopia.

The head of the African Affairs Department of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yuriy Yukalov, in talks he held a few months ago with Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front representatives in London, was able to convince them to participate in the peace initiative proposed by President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Surely, in Africa as in other parts of the world, the establishment of peace is an issue that involves the whole international community. Even then the Africans themselves must make maximum efforts in this connection. The role of the OAU and the Nonaligned Movement should also not be forgotten. The recently-concluded OAU summit has closely scrutinized the situation in southern Africa and the conflicts in Angola and in Western Sahara. The nonaligned countries conference, which will be held next September, is expected to discuss

the African peace situation in detail. The participants will discuss the denuclearization of Africa and the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. All this strengthens our hope.

I believe that regional conflicts will be completely extinguished with joint efforts, and I am sure that lasting peace will prevail in Africa.

Congo Workers' Party Congress Viewed
*EA0108203589 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1530 GMT 26 Jul 89*

[Commentary from "A Few Out of Many" program]

[Text] The fourth party congress of the Congo Workers' Party [PCT] has begun. The socialist path that the party decided to follow 20 years ago has not brought about the desired or satisfactory results. The social and economic problems inherited from colonial times have hindered the implementation of basic objectives. Congolese citizens have long understood that numerous slogans result in nothing unless each individual carries out his duties with responsibility and efficiency.

In order to make Congo self-sufficient in the provision of foodstuffs by the year 2000, the party has issued the slogan: Return to Agriculture. In this respect, it has been stated that party members are expected to set a good example. President Sassou-Nguesso in his speech regarding this stated: We have accumulated the necessary equipment and finance, and we have passed resolutions. What remains is to go to the rural areas and start working. Time will show us the results. It is possible to say that this congress was carried out in a democratic way. Each party member was able to discuss the problems of the country in general and of the party in particular, and the period 1990 to 1994 was drawn up along these lines.

A delegation from the CPSU participated in the congress at the invitation of the PCT. The Central Committee of the CPSU also sent a message of congratulations. The message of the CPSU said: Your congress is taking place at a time when it is possible to decide the destiny of mankind. New political perspective is taking root. There is a transition from confrontation to cooperation in the world. We appreciate the friendly relations that exist between the CPSU and the PCT.

In its congratulatory message, the Central Committee of the CPSU affirmed that it wished to further strengthen their friendly relations in the future.

CPSU Greets Congolese Labor Party Congress
*PM0208154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1*

[CPSU Central Committee greetings to Congolese Labor Party Congress]

[Text] To the Fourth Congolese Labor Party Congress.

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent greetings to delegates at the Fourth Congolese Labor Party Congress.

Your congress has assembled at a time crucial to the destiny of mankind. The ideas of the new political thinking are forging a path for themselves on an increasing scale. There are now prospects of moving away from confrontation toward cooperation and a world free of violence and war, where common human values will triumph and where freedom of sociopolitical choice, national independence, and sovereignty will be accorded unconditional respect.

Having embarked on the path of extensively renewing Soviet society, our party sees its aim as being to disclose socialism's creative, humanist potential to the maximum. The guarantee of restructuring's success lies in its nationwide support.

We value the friendly relationship between the CPSU and the Congolese Labor Party and are in favor of developing this relationship further.

We wish the Fourth Congolese Labor Party Congress fruitful work for the good of the Congolese people and in the interests of universal peace.
The CPSU Central Committee.

Frank Chikane Comments on South Africa Politics
*MB2807121989 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa
1930 GMT 26 Jul 89*

[Text] Moscow has recently hosted an international conference of church organizations which was attended by Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. Soviet Correspondent Aleksey Batagov spoke with him. Asked whether he believed that the oppressed masses in South Africa would soon be free, Frank Chikane replied that he was certain about it. There is no question, because a system as unjust as that of South Africa must be overturned. If this does not happen, it will mean that the world dwells in darkness. South Africans themselves should keep the fight against apartheid raging, and we trust that the international community will continue to assist us in attaining our goal and bringing joy to all of South Africa.

Asked when he thinks this will happen, he said freedom would come sooner than most people think. The past 4 years have seen increasing economic and political chaos in South Africa, and this will facilitate a more rapid dismantling of apartheid. The South African Government is doing all in its power to fall in line with the rest of the international community. It is obvious that the government is in serious trouble. The world is sick of the burden of apartheid, and we are no longer prepared to live under its oppressive yoke. I have hope that we are now at the end of our apartheid history. There has never been more determination worldwide to end the system of apartheid. Despite the state of emergency and related

violence, the oppressed masses continue the struggle for freedom. Their tireless fight has even caused a split in white alignments and forced the government to opt for negotiation with blacks in the near future.

On the historic Botha/Mandela talks, he said the move was surprising, considering that hardline Botha had determined never to meet with Mandela. It is important to note that the South African Government is determined to stop the international community's total sanctions bid. The Pretoria regime is no longer interested in keeping Mandela in jail, and respects him as leader, whereas in the past they labeled him a murderer or a criminal. Now he has had an audience with the country's president, after such a long prison term.

South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha was recently interviewed by the Soviet press on changing relations between the two countries. On this, Frank Chikane said that is why he felt the need to come to the Soviet Union—to get firsthand information on this and not rely on newspaper reports. The South African Government was mistaken in criticizing the African National Congress, ANC, for resorting to arms. History notes the fact that the ANC initially wanted peaceful change in South Africa—from as early as 1960—but the government's response was not peaceful and it was the first to use gun-power. The ANC's armed struggle follows a bid for peaceful change in the country. Another mistake by the government is that the regime is waiting for the Soviet Union to change its policy on South Africa. The Soviet Union can only have one attitude toward the system of apartheid, and that is that it should be eradicated. There should be no discrimination based on color, and there should be freedom of speech for all. The oppressed masses of South Africa regard the Soviets as their friends.

Nishanov Receives Zambian Parliamentarians
PM0408090789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Broaden Cooperation"]

[Text] The official visit by a delegation of the Zambian National Assembly is continuing.

On 28 July R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, had a meeting with the parliamentarians in the USSR Supreme Soviet. He told the guests about the restructuring processes taking place in the Soviet Union and about the work of the first session of the country's highest body of legislative authority. It was noted that in the present conditions a most important task is to reveal the people's creative potential as fully as possible by broadly democratizing Soviet society.

The sides expressed their mutual desire to broaden Soviet-Zambian relations, strengthen mutually useful cooperation, and develop interparliamentary contacts.

They expressed confidence that the exchange of delegations at various levels will serve to consolidate bilateral ties and help to ensure stability and security on the African Continent.

O.R. Haambote, Zambian ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

Deteriorating Situation in Somalia Viewed
EA0308164589 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1530 GMT 2 Aug 89

[From "Africa As We See It" program]

[Text] The news coming from Mogadishu indicates that armed conflicts are taking place and many people have been killed there. The cause of the present conflict, diplomats say, is the arrest of Muslim religious leaders. Religious leaders have been accused of conspiring against the government. Recently, the same accusation was levelled at the former minister of defense, Major General Aden Abdullah Nur, and the minister of interior, Mohamed Abdulle Badle. They have now been prosecuted. All this, and President Siad Barre's intention that he be succeeded by his son, General Masleh, has led to a major power conflict in Somalia.

However, the Somali situation had already begun to deteriorate. Civil war was being waged in all four corners of the country. In the central and western parts of the country, the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia was active. In the north, the Somali National Movement was waging an intensive war against government forces. An advisor, (Richard Greenfield), said that the Somali Government would fall within a few months. He said this about a year ago, but the Siad Barre government is still there. The improvement of relations with Ethiopia might have helped. Nevertheless, the current situation in Somalia is serious and complex, and it is clear that the conflict will harm the people.

In the opinion of political observers, internal and external wars have weakened the political stand of the regime, the economy is in disarray, the people have lost confidence in the government, tribalism has divided the people, and, in addition, between 400,000 and 800,000 Somalis are refugees. To overcome all these problems, it will be necessary to put into practice the democratic rights promised to the people in 1969.

Tanzanian Party Delegation Visits 26-31 Jul
PM0308094189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania [CCM], a CCM delegation headed by S. Chale, member of the

Politburo of the party's National Executive Committee, was in the Soviet Union 26-31 July and familiarized itself with the CPSU's experience in the field of party information.

The delegation was received in the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department and the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; had meetings and talks in the party organs of Ivanovo Oblast; and visited agricultural and industrial enterprises.

New Ambassador to Tanzania Appointed
PM0308104589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Andrey Igorevich Fialkovskiy USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Republic of Tanzania.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Sergey Ivanovich Illarionov of his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Republic of Tanzania in connection with his retirement on pension.

Lukyanov Receives Zambian Parliamentarians
PM0208160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received 29 July a delegation from the Republic of Zambia National Assembly headed by Speaker F. Mulikita.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a spirit of mutual understanding which is typical of Soviet-Zambian relations, they noted the importance of further improvement of ties between the two countries' parliaments, making a weighty contribution toward the strengthening of friendship and all-around cooperation between the Soviet Union and Zambia, including in the international arena.

The guests from Zambia were briefed on the course of the practical implementation of political, socioeconomic, and legal reforms in our country, the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session.

During the exchange of opinions on topical international questions, the attention of Zambian parliamentarians was drawn to the Soviet Union's specific foreign policy steps based on the new political thinking, and emphasis was

placed on the importance of active contribution by responsible political and social circles in all countries toward the incipient improvement of the situation in the world.

The Soviet Union, A.I. Lukyanov said, consistently advocates a fair political settlement in southern Africa and expresses solidarity with the efforts made by Zambia and other "frontline" states aimed at unblocking the situation in the Southern African region and dismantling the apartheid system in the Republic of South Africa.

The Zambian guests described the plans for their country's national development. They noted the great influence of the perestroika now under way in the USSR and of the Soviet foreign policy course on the positive changes in international affairs, and positively assessed the Congress of USSR People's Deputies message to the peoples of the world. The Zambian parliamentarians expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for its support to the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against colonialism and racism, for peace, democracy, and progress.

Both sides advocated further development of Soviet-Zambian relations and their acquisition of new content for the benefit of both countries' peoples.

The conversation was attended by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities; USSR People's Deputy V.S. Petropavlovskiy; and Zambian Ambassador to the Soviet Union O.R. Haambote.

Yefimov on Military Cooperation With Nigeria
LD0208131989

[Editorial report] Moscow in English to Africa at 2000 GMT on 1 August broadcasts a brief interview with Marshal Aleksandr Yefimov, commander in chief of the Soviet Air Force and deputy minister of defense, by Sergey Nagayev.

Yefimov is asked about his visit to Nigeria. "Our delegation," Yefimov said, "was granted the opportunity of meeting the President of Nigeria and commander in chief of the country's Armed Forces General Ibrahim Babangida and the republic's military specialists. The talks were held in a friendly atmosphere and gave us some idea of the structure and activities of Nigeria's Air Force. We also got a good idea of the life and problems of the Nigerian people." Yefimov notes that his delegation put forward the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy course and heard Nigeria's position on further consolidating bilateral cooperation, including military cooperation. Yefimov notes that his delegation was received in Nigeria with great cordiality.

West Europe

Mitterrand Views EEC Integration, USSR Trade
PM0408094589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "How To Build Europe?"]

[Text] Paris—Addressing the European Parliament 27 July, Foreign Minister R. Dumas outlined the action

program of France, which is due to chair the EEC for the next 6 months. An interview with President F. Mitterrand was devoted to the same topics.

Paris believes that the main task of the EEC and all its institutions is the accelerated political and economic building of Europe and the creation of a "single internal market" of the 12 EEC members by 1993. Considerable difficulties will have to be overcome along the way and complex tasks will have to be resolved, and therefore—as observers note—France's role in the chair will not be an easy one. Much will depend on the extent to which Britain's opposition will be successfully overcome. But Europe, F. Mitterrand pointed out, will be built with or without M. Thatcher's participation.

Paris assumes that a united West Europe (Austria, Turkey, and even Morocco are now knocking on the EEC's doors) could become "the top economic power in the world," and the integration processes are causing a certain amount of worry among its U.S. and Japanese competitors.

But what are the basic goals that France sets for itself, with its leaders emphasizing that the creation of a "united Europe" cannot be limited to just the elimination of barriers obstructing the free exchange of goods and services? A central position is occupied by preparations for the creation of a European economic and currency union. It envisages, in particular, the introduction of a single monetary unit designed to replace national currencies, and the institution of a central bank.

London is a firm opponent to such a union, perceiving it as a curb on national sovereignty. This question, according to opinion on the banks of the Seine, is political and will be examined at an intergovernmental conference in July 1990.

Paris is also emphasizing the creation of a "social Europe." Work is now being done on a draft "charter of basic social rights." This charter, which it is assumed will be approved by year's end, should guarantee working people's basic rights—work in any EEC country, social security, freedom of movement, the right to join trade unions, and so on. But this political declaration does not have mandatory legal force.

The 12 countries give growing attention to the ecology. A European Agency for Environmental Protection will be set up in the next few months. Science and technology and education provide another two avenues of European building. Questions of culture, preservation of European originality, and thus counteraction to mass U.S. culture are gradually emerging in the forefront.

The agenda also lists the reform of the community's basic institutions, which are expanding their powers. EEC Commission President J. Delors proposes transforming it into something similar to a Council of Ministers that would "be accountable" to two chambers—

the Europarlament elected in general elections, and a Senate whose members would be appointed by the governments of the 12 states.

The EEC is increasingly striving to elaborate a common approach toward key international problems—disarmament and relations with the "Third World" and the socialist countries. It is assumed that while France chairs the EEC, talks will be completed on renewing the Lome Convention, which associates the EEC with 66 countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. Talks are underway on concluding cooperation treaties with Poland and the Soviet Union.

In his interview with LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, F. Mitterrand again emphasized the need to demolish the barriers dividing Europe, develop exchanges, and cooperate in the common interest. Touching on M.S. Gorbachev's visit to France, he noted that there is no question of the community "aiding the USSR"—this expression is incorrect in his opinion—but of investing capital there, setting up joint ventures, and training cadres for Soviet enterprises.

On the whole, the EEC has a positive attitude toward the concept of the "common European home," even though it does not have a perfectly clear idea of what it would be like in reality. "The common European home," F. Mitterrand declared in the aforementioned interview, "is a wonderful idea and a good project. But we in the West, and the East European communist countries are very different from one another by nature—in terms both of our way of thinking and way of life. This is why the building and organization of such a 'home' will be a complex process. I personally believe, however, that we are talking about a desirable prospect. In my view, the paramount task is to eliminate the walls dividing our continent. It is necessary to make sure that people could meet each other and travel."

According to opinion polls, approximately two-thirds of French people now advocate a "united Europe." At the same time, the ranks of both "Europessimists" and "Euroskeptics" are still strong, perceiving primarily negative aspects in integration: partial loss of sovereignty, reinforcement of the positions of big capital and transnational corporations to the detriment of the "little man's" interests, and exacerbation of competition in which the weak would be the losers.

Be that as it may, the integration of West Europe is a process that is gathering momentum.

Ecologists Suggest Lapland Park to Gorbachev
LD0308230489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1708 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 3 Aug (TASS)—To save the unique natural environment of Lapland, it is necessary to create an international nature park that would include border regions of the USSR, Finland and Norway. This was the

conclusion reached by the participants in the international Soviet-Finnish-Norwegian ecological expedition. They held a press conference today at the Soviet Peace Committee. [passage omitted]

The participants of the expedition addressed a request to Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland, to support the efforts of Soviet and Finnish supporters of environmental protection, to pool the efforts of the two countries in saving the natural environment of Lapland, and to start cooperation on the technological modernization of the nickel combines on the territory of the USSR.

Biryukova Visits UK Textile Firm 24 Jul

LD2507024989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2205 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Derby, Derbyshire County, 25 July, TASS—On Monday [24 July], in the second half of the day, the Soviet delegation which is in Great Britain and which is headed by A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited an enterprise for the production of acetate yarn belonging to the "Courtaulds" firm.

Members of the delegation visited workshops and familiarized themselves with technology and equipment which is used during the manufacture of artificial threads. There was a conversation between A.P. Biryukova and the firm's management, examining issues of cooperation between the "Courtaulds" company and Soviet organizations and enterprises in the area of light and chemical industry.

Firms Negotiating Shipbuilding Order With USSR

AU0208133089 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE 2 Aug 89 p 9

[Report by "WG": "Large Order for German Shipyards"]

[Text] Hamburg, 1 August—The two big German shipyards, Bremer Vulkan AG and Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft AG (HDW), are negotiating with the Soviet Union on an order for the German shipbuilding industry. Sovcomflot, the holding company of the Soviet Union's three large shipping companies offering regular services, plans to order 10 container ships for the Soviet merchant fleet. In addition, the planned building of 46 new multipurpose freighters is being discussed. Based on current shipbuilding prices, the entire order would amount to DM4.5 billion. The Soviets apparently give priority to the container ships that should be built first, and which it would like to use from 1991-92, if possible. According to sources close to the shipbuilding industry, the Soviets intend to subdivide the order package of the 10 container ships—each with 2,600 container places, which, based

on current market prices, subsidies not included, together would cost roughly DM1.25 billion—into six spot orders and four options. The prices and financing are still unsettled.

Norwegian Apologizes for 'False' Report

LD0308110789 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT
2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Terry Larsen, head of the Norwegian delegation at the peace festival of North European countries, today apologised for the false publication by Norwegian journalists Helge Austheim and Tove Lie in the AFTENPOSTEN newspaper of July 31, 1989. The publication alleged that during the festival, which was held near Murmansk on July 25-28, two Norwegian journalists and their Soviet colleagues were unlawfully detained by Soviet militia. The newspaper wrote that as a result of the erupted brawl a representative of Norway incurred bruises.

TASS was told at the Soviet Interior Ministry Press Centre that at 0240 local time on July 29 Valeriy Muzykov, member of the film crew of the Murmansk branch of the Leningrad documentary film studio, Aleksey Talykh, a driver of the studio who has twice stood trial for theft, and his girlfriend Yelena Demyanenko were detained on the grounds of the festival camp for public order violation.

This happened after Talykh, while being in the state of intoxication with alcohol, in response to the militia-man's demand to leave the closed cafe located on the camp grounds, insulted him and gave him several punches. Norwegian journalists, who were in the cafe together with the Soviet representatives, refused to leave in "trouble" their new "friends," with whom they got acquainted only several hours earlier, and voluntarily accompanied them to the festival's law and order enforcement centre. Near the centre Talykh and his girlfriend offered active resistance to militiamen and inflicted bodily injuries on some of them. The incident took place in the presence of the Norwegians against whom militia did not take any measures.

Moreover, the heads of the Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian delegations noted after the Soviet side gave clarifications on the incident that militia's actions during the festival were justified.

Latin America & Caribbean

Congratulatory Messages Exchanged With Mexico

LD0308214689 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and Mexico exchanged congratulatory messages in connection with the 65th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, which will be marked on Friday.

The message sent by Eduard Shevardnadze says that due to the sides' mutual interest and goodwill Soviet-Mexican relations have become an important factor of international politics over the years and reached a new level.

The Soviet foreign minister expressed confidence that the traditionally friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico will further develop under the effect of beneficial impulses, promote stronger bonds of friendship between the two nations and work toward stronger peace and a safer world.

The message of Mexican Foreign Minister Fernando Solana says that Soviet-Mexican relations have reached a high level, are developing in an atmosphere of friendship, confidence and mutual respect and are a positive contribution to the development of the international community.

The minister expressed confidence that political dialogue and contacts between the Soviet Union and Mexico in various fields will continue to actively develop in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

Deputy Mokanu Leaves for Honduras, Costa Rica
PM0308101589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Departure"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union, left Moscow 1 August. It will pay official visits to Honduras and Costa Rica at the invitation of those countries' parliaments.

Upcoming C. America Summit, U.S. Aid Viewed
PY0408033289 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0030 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Commentary by NOVOSTI Press Agency correspondent Yuriy Godoriyev]

[Text] The upcoming summit of Central American presidents that will be held from 5 to 7 August in El Salvador raises hopes around the world that a solution to the complex regional conflict will be found. Obviously, much will depend not only on the Central American rulers, but also on the political will at the White House in Washington. This is the opinion of NOVOSTI Press Agency correspondent Yuriy Godoriyev.

If the U.S. statements can be believed, the Americans are in favor of the region's prosperity, democracy, and progress. Those statements, however, are at odds with the military interventionism. Let's begin with Nicaragua. Its economy is being destroyed by the contras in a well-planned effort to create chaos in the country's economy and to hamper the implementation of social reforms for the benefit of the population. On one occasion the newspaper BOSTON NEWS wrote: Officials in

Washington are content with having the contras force the Sandinistas to transfer scant resources from social programs to the war effort. How can this approach be reconciled with humanism and democracy?

Not long ago a book came out in the United States entitled "War Without Violence: Use and Abuse of U.S. Economic Assistance to Central America." Its authors, (Badereskiy and Detfruit), reached the conclusion that the U.S. assistance to the region is detrimental to the poor sectors of the population. They also say that instead of solving regional problems, U.S. economic assistance only pours fuel on the fire of the political and financial crisis.

It is difficult to question the fact that the economic situation in Honduras is growing worse. The annual payments for its foreign debt absorb 33 percent of the country's export receipts. Overdue payments amount to \$300 million. Social tensions are mounting in the country, and the United States plays an important role in this, because that country has transformed Honduran territory into a shelter for the Nicaraguan armed opposition.

In light of those facts it is very important to reestablish stability in the Central American countries, regardless of their ideology and political regime. The hot spots must be cooled. Doing so will normalize mutually beneficial links and cooperation in the region. Incidentally, Nicaragua is contributing much to this. Recently, that country was visited by Soviet deputies led by Aleksandr Vlasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Questioned today by our correspondent on how he evaluates Nicaragua's role in the international arena, Aleksandr Vlasov replied: It seems to me, and I believe it is the correct impression, that in the past 10 years the international prestige of Nicaragua has increased and been reinforced. To a great measure this is due to the effort and acumen of the Sandinist leadership. It managed to map a realistic road to the solution of the complicated Central American problem, Vlasov said.

As can be seen, not only we, but many others also, like the way Nicaragua approaches the solution to the regional problems, with due consideration to the interests of all the countries involved, and in search of mutually acceptable commitments. This approach is in line with the way we understand the realities of the contemporary world and in line with our position regarding the solution to regional conflicts based on a new political mentality.

When we met with the Nicaraguan leaders, we expressed to them our support for, and understanding of, the line that seeks a solution to the conflicts in that region without foreign intervention.

On the eve of the Central American summit, the Sandinist government is creating the best conditions for a fruitful dialogue in El Salvador. This is proved by the decree released today in Managua. The document proposes the postponement for another month of the offensive operations throughout the country.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Continues Session 4 Aug

Gorbachev Discusses Crime Law

LD0408105489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0830 GMT on 4 August broadcasts an 8-minute recording of the 4 August session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin. The report begins with commentator Igor Zorin saying that today's sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session was due to have begun, as announced yesterday, with the examination of the draft law on the status of judges in the USSR. Zorin then says: "However, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet, who is also chairing the current sitting, proposed that the session begins its work today in a different manner."

Gorbachev states: "Comrades: We decided to start today's sitting with an issue that had not been scheduled in advance, but the times themselves and life itself nevertheless make it imperative to examine it without delay. The point at issue is to resolutely intensify the struggle against crime. You know that our society is very worried about this issue. You have repeatedly raised these questions during the congress and here too, and, as you will remember, the congress demanded that the struggle against corruption, organized crime, theft, and bribery should be intensified and that citizens' safety from encroachments into their life, health, dignity, and property should be guaranteed."

"The fact that you have been given a proposal in order to make a decision on this issue has been prompted precisely by this. The sense of this decision does not only lie in just having this subject matter aired, or in us raising it yet again, as it were, from this rostrum for the country to hear. However, as you will have noticed, this report, albeit brief, does nevertheless contain specific proposals aimed at coordinating and uniting the efforts in this question and to bring the whole of society into play. It is necessary to become organized and to inflict a serious blow, a decisive blow, and to wage the offensive along a broad front, because criminals have become brazen. They have simply become brazen in this country and they think they cannot be brought to justice!"

Zorin then says: "After this short speech, debates began. Deputies voiced various proposals with respect to provisions for the militia, the struggle against speculation, and poaching. There was talk of having law and order protection bodies be responsible for bringing the investigation of crimes to a conclusion."

Deputy Sobchak says that urgent changes ought to be made to the Criminal Code to protect militia officials to a greater extent, as attacks on them have become more frequent of late. He gives the Presidium a petition, signed by tens of thousands of Leningrad inhabitants,

protesting the killing of a female militia member. Sobchak says: "That is why I propose that a special law ought to be passed on criminal responsibility for attacking militia officials, trying to kill them, or killing them, introducing the death penalty for these crimes."

Gorbachev replies, saying: "This proposal is, I think, very correct. This is, incidentally, reflected in all the telegrams and letters. More than that; let me tell you that there are letters from mothers. Only recently I received a letter from Kiev. The Supreme Soviet's attention, and my attention as Supreme Soviet chairman, is drawn outright to the fact that everything must be done in order so people who protect the people's safety should be thoroughly and genuinely protected by the law. That is why this proposal submitted by Comrade Sobchak is, in my view, of great importance. Let it be supplemented by the second point. But, with your assent Comrade Sobchak, I would withdraw this: That we, the legislators, should directly determine altogether everything here. Let some work be done on measures of liability. We can now hurry to intensify them, this is perfectly clear. There is a need for this law, and also for increasing liability and this protection—but what it will be like we shall examine together later."

Deputy Golik says it is desirable to have draft laws sent to deputies during the recess: The Draft Law on the Militia, which is already in existence—and it is not a bad draft—and the Draft Law on the State of Emergency, which also exists, must be sent out so deputies can get down to work.

Zorin says the draft decision on resolutely intensifying the struggle against crime, proposed by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has, after taking into account proposals and amendments, been passed by the Supreme Soviet. The deputies subsequently moved on to examine the Draft Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR. Comrade Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, delivered a report. He notes others also spoke on this subject. Zorin adds: "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev subsequently put the matter to a vote and the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR was passed by both chambers in separate voting."

Zorin says that Comrade Alekseyev then suggested that the Council of Ministers should be instructed to work out, within 2 months, a decision on material provisions for judges. Deputies unanimously voted in favor of this. The session then moved to ratifying international acts. Deputy Zasokhov, acting chairman of the Committee on International Affairs, made a brief report on this. He noted that the congress has decided to work out and adopt the country's foreign policy acts in a spirit of glasnost; from now on acts of this kind are ratified in the Supreme Soviet and not by the Presidium, as has been the case before. Zorin says that the session ratified two additional protocols to the 1949 Geneva Convention on protecting the victims of international conflicts and conflicts of a noninternational nature. The Consular

Convention between the USSR and Turkey, signed last year, was also ratified. Zorin adds: "Concluding the morning sitting, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev touched on certain questions connected with the course of the session. In particular, he read some telegrams that have arrived at the Supreme Soviet in which the voters' reaction is set out to the course of debates on the interim decision concerning provision for the activities of the USSR's People's Deputies. A break was then announced. The session is now already debating a draft of this interim decision. Deputy Pivovarov, chairman of one of the parliamentary committees, is presenting a report. Today the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the new parliament—ought to conclude its 6 weeks' work."

Text of Criminal Law

LD0408085889 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0658 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Aug (TASS)—The text of the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 8 April 1989 "On introducing changes and amendments to the law of the USSR on criminal responsibility for state crimes" and some other legislative acts of the USSR has been distributed here. It reads:

The USSR Supreme Soviet decrees:
To affirm the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 8 April 1989 "On introducing changes and amendments to the law of the USSR on criminal responsibility for state crimes" and several other legislative acts of the USSR, setting out Article 7 of the above-mentioned law in the following wording:

Article 7. Calls for the violent overthrow or change of the Soviet state and social system

Public calls for the violent overthrow or change of the Soviet state and social system, which is consolidated by the USSR Constitution, and also the spread of material of such a content with this aim—

Are punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of up to 3 years or by a fine of up to R 2,000.

The same actions committed repeatedly or by an organized group of persons are punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of up to 7 years or by a fine of up to R 5,000.

Actions, provided for by the parts of the first or second present article, committed at the bidding of foreign organizations or their representatives are punishable by deprivation of liberty of a period of up to 10 years.

In Article 2 part II of the decree, change the words "7/calls for the overthrow or change of the Soviet state and social system"/ to "7/calls for the violent overthrow or change of the Soviet state and social system."

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 31 July 1989

Further on Criminal Law

LD0408085189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0730 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Aug (TASS)—The TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The sharp increase in crime in the country, including organized crime, gives rise to justifiable alarm among the population of the USSR. This is stated in a decision that was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet today. The purpose of the document is a resolute intensification of the struggle against crime. Proposed at this morning's session of the parliament by Mikhail Gorbachev although it was not on the agenda, it was adopted by an overwhelming number of votes (only one deputy voted against it).

In presenting the draft decision, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet recalled that the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies demanded an intensification of the struggle against corruption, organized crime, embezzlement, and bribery, and a guarantee of the security of citizens from encroachments on their life, health, honor, and property.

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the opinion that the measures provided for by the decision will assist in the fight against crime by closely coordinating the activities of all bodies entrusted with ensuring law and order in the country.

The decision provides for establishing in the USSR, the union and Autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts provisional committees to combat crime made up of chiefs of bodies from the procurator's office, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the KGB, the courts and judiciary, and USSR people's deputies elected or working in the corresponding territory.

The supervision of the work by the temporary committees is accordingly borne by the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in the union and autonomous republics by the chairmen of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidiums.

It is proposed that the USSR minister of internal affairs, together with the USSR chief public prosecutor, should work out the application of exceptional measures by staff of the law and order bodies in the critical conditions of the struggle against criminal elements when situations arise that present a special danger.

It has also been decided to increase the number of internal services troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in order to apply the necessary measures in cases of mass insubordination by criminal elements.

Many deputies took part in the discussion. They completely upheld Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal that the given document should be ratified, and introduced a number of specific additions. Thus, Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak from Leningrad proposed adopting amendments to the criminal legislation regarding measures to protect the staff of law and order bodies, ranging as far as the introduction of the death penalty for the murder of a militiaman. Deputy Nikolay Fedorov proposed that legislation should also be drawn up and urgently adopted regarding measures to fight organized crime in the country.

The decision on the resolute intensification of the fight against crime was adopted, taking into account the specific additions introduced.

More Draft Laws Passed

LD0408105189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Report by Vladimir Korablev from the Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] Today is the final day of the work of our parliament, which has lasted for 40 days. In that time, as you know, the Supreme Soviet has adopted a number of important draft laws, with which we have already acquainted our listeners in quite some detail.

Today's joint sitting of the chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He submitted a draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Resolute Intensification of the Fight Against Crime" for examination by the deputies. The adoption of such a measure, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted, is prompted by the fact that in the country there has been a sharp rise in crime, including the organized variety. This causes well-founded alarm in the population and makes the progress of perestroika difficult. [passage omitted] The members of the Supreme Soviet adopted the decision "On the Resolute Intensification of the Fight Against Crime" by a majority of votes.

The deputies then started discussion of the draft law on the status of judges in the USSR. A report on this issue was delivered by Comrade Smolentsev, chairman of the Supreme Court. He dwelled on the main provisions of the draft law and noted that the main thing now is to create normal conditions for the work of the courts and for the independence of judges, and also to examine the subject of increasing the salaries of court staff.

Deputy Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality and Law and Order, said in his speech that the adoption of this law will be the first resolute step on the road to creating a law-governed state. The deputies adopted the law on the status of judges in the USSR unanimously, virtually without discussion.

After that, the Supreme Soviet ratified two international documents: the protocol to the Geneva convention on defending victims of war and the consular convention between the USSR and Turkey.

Now, after the break, the session will continue its work. Deputies will start discussion of the decision on material provisions for USSR people's deputies.

With that I conclude my report from the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin.

3 Aug Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

Law on Enterprises Discussed

LD0308192189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1330 GMT on 3 August broadcasts a recorded relay of the 3 August USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. Nishanov chairs the session; 390 deputies have registered. The session will discuss amendments and additions to the draft law on state enterprises. Abalkin, deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers, is called upon to present his report.

At 1331 GMT, Abalkin begins his speech by explaining the background to the draft law and how it has operated to date. There has been a lot of discussion as to whether certain limits should be placed on this law, but this has been thought undesirable. He then reads various proposed amendments to the draft law.

Referring to contributions to the savings bank and the correlation between the wage fund and labor productivity changes, Abalkin says that if the growth of this fund exceeds 3 percent, it will not be subject to taxes. He goes on to explain the exceptions to this rule.

The next amendment concerns improving the structure of management and the rights of work collectives to join an association, including the right to leave an association.

The fifth and final amendment concerns trade with socialist and other countries. Abalkin calls for this draft law, with its amendments, to be adopted.

Nishanov thanks Abalkin for his report and calls for Deputy Alekseyev of the Legislation Committee to speak.

At 1359 GMT, Alekseyev begins to speak, saying that his committee supports the amendments as they are of "a truly revolutionary nature" that will make a great contribution to the country's economic development, and will sharply weaken "departmental diktat." He makes one or two minor "corrections" to the amendments as presented, altering the wording slightly.

At 1405 GMT, Deputy Kisin speaks on behalf of the Soviet of the Union Commission on Industrial Development. He notes that preparations for this report involved

meetings with enterprise managers in various parts of the country, and reports his commission's approval of some amendments and its proposals concerning certain others.

At 1410 GMT, Abalkin returns to the platform with a wad of papers containing a number of written questions that have been submitted to him. These concern simplifying the name of the law, taxes on wages, the introduction of capacities, foodstuffs, the free withdrawal of a workshop from an enterprise, antimonopoly legislation, and the setting-up of small enterprises. He says that a number of the questions refer to price controls and reductions in state orders. As for the remainder of the questions, he says they can be referred back to committees for further discussion.

At 1418 GMT, Deputy Travkin voices his belief that the document should be adopted, with one or two reservations.

At 1422 GMT, Deputy Desyatov, of Komsomolsk-on-Amur, talks about certain "bureaucratic intrigues" over the shaping of state orders, giving examples. He calls for certain amendments to be dropped from the draft law. An unidentified deputy then makes a proposal on adopting the amendments today and Nishanov says he thinks it has been a very constructive debate so far. Deputy (?Bushuyev) singles out a couple of amendments regarding the labor fund for comment, and calls for the draft law to be endorsed, preferably today. Another unidentified deputy makes a couple of proposals on the amendments regarding lease-contract relations and the titles of the draft law. Deputy Bykov picks out a point on labor collectives that requires clarification with regard to his position in the film industry. A deputy from Nizhnevartovsk then states his belief that the proposal should be voted on today.

At 1440 GMT, Deputy Brulatskiy refers to the importance of this debate in the development of economic reform and talks about the contribution of foreign firms in joint enterprises. He is followed by Deputy Ryabkov reading some proposals given to him by his Magnitogorsk constituents. Deputy Neumyvakin, from the Society for the Blind supports the draft law, but draws attention to an amendment that should be made relating to the rights of the disabled workers. Deputy Sazonov then makes a couple of proposals regarding state orders, particularly relating to agricultural machinery, while Deputy Miloserdnyy declares that the draft law must be adopted and comments on state orders and commercial banks. Deputy Levakin says that enterprises should have the right to secede from the ministry if they wish. He proposes that a law on the ministries be worked out by the next session.

Deputy Denisov favors the draft law, with a couple of minor reservations on benefits.

At 1458 GMT, Deputy Velikhov proposes referring the discussion on taxes to the commissions. Deputy Kirilov claims that increased independence for enterprises will lead to increased prices and problems with supplies. Deputy Andreyev says that scientific-technical progress cannot be halted and makes a point about an amendment on scientific production. Deputy Zaslavskiy remarks on an enterprise's right to export-import operations.

At 1502 GMT Deputy Blayev suggest a minor amendment to article on foreign economic relations. Deputy Sobchak hurries to make three brief amendments to various articles before the voting takes place. Deputies Leskin, Kogan (on crutches), and Bronshteyn just manage to get in comments on certain amendments, followed by Naumov from Chelyabinsk proposing a change to the wording of an article on prices. Deputy Trefilov of the Union of Engineering Societies makes proposals on a couple of amendments and is worried about right of an enterprise to withdraw from the ministry.

At 1513 GMT, Nishanov says it is time to vote. The vote will be taken after a 20-minute break. The morning sitting ends; the recorded relay continues.

Deputies Discuss Energy Issues

LD0308201489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1515 GMT on 3 August continues broadcasting a recorded relay of the 3 August Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. The recorded relay of the afternoon Supreme Soviet session begins at this time.

Nishanov, in the chair, says that before the voting on the draft law on state enterprise with amendments and additions takes place, he will give the floor back to Deputy Abalkin.

Abalkin speaks for 10 minutes on a number of additional amendments that have been proposed since he spoke earlier. He deals with taxation questions. Unwarranted pay raises when the shelves in the shops are empty are not permissible, he says. Speculative price rises are the subject of a proposal to the council of ministers. Anti-inflation measures are also needed.

Nishanov then calls for a vote on the amendments that have been discussed; they are carried almost unanimously. The law is confirmed. He then proceeds to the decision on taxation (postanovleniye). Deputies interrupt by bringing up various points and making slight amendments to the wording. Abalkin criticizes the slight changes that have been suggested. He says that the law is only dealing with wage raises. An unidentified deputy speaks about the effect of the law on lease contracting.

Nishanov calls for vote on the decision with the amendments. An unidentified deputy intervenes with a point of procedure. Deputy Kirilov wants to make a comment but Nishanov overrules him. The voting takes place: one against, one abstention; the measure is passed.

At 1541 GMT, Nishanov announces that Ryzhkov made proposals for certain candidatures to the Council of Ministers. He asks Ryzhkov if he wants to speak; he does not. He then moves on to the candidature of Filimonov as minister of the USSR oil and gas industry.

Filimonov comes to the rostrum. He talks for 8 minutes about the program for the oil and gas industry. He says Soviet oil and gas output is higher than that of the United States. Increased output has been the result of technical reequipping of enterprises and the transition to financial autonomy and self-financing. He outlines tasks in the development of the industry in Siberia and direct links between Soviet and foreign enterprises. He also refers to the ecological problems faced by the industry and the need to attract CEMA and other foreign firms to joint building projects in the USSR.

Deputy Prokushev then speaks on behalf of institutes in Bashkiriya, including Bashneft. Raises problems of the Samotlor oil deposits. An unidentified deputy looks back at Filimonov's career and is confident that the industry will be in good hands with him. Deputy Mukhametzyanov proposes that deputies vote for Filimonov, but criticizes the out-of-date machinery still being used in the industry.

At 1600 GMT, Deputy (Vragilov) from Azerbaijan speaks briefly. Then Deputy Fominykh asks about developing sulphurous fields in Kazakhstan and Tyumen. This is very dangerous to people and livestock. The ministry has a responsibility to the people in the area. Achilov asks about prospects for a deposit in Kalmykiya. He also asks about emissions in Astrakhan, which have a bad effect on the ecology. Voskoboynikov from Novyy Urengoy says he is from a natural gas area. He says that Filimonov spoke mainly about oil, because that is his subject. But natural gas is the main energy fuel. How does he see the solution for the problems, for example in Yamal, with its ecology? The tundra is being ruined. This is an urgent question. The native people's land is being taken.

Aypin from Khanty-Mansiysk demands the right to speak because he is from an important oil region; Nishanov says he can speak afterwards.

At 1608 GMT, Filimonov answers previous questions. The oil discovery in Kalmykiya is good, but a future complication. Regarding the Astrakhan works, people's health and ecology is very important. If the works cannot function properly, it should not function at all. As for heavy work by women, he is very much against it and it must be resolved. Unidentified speaker shouts indistinct words from the hall. Filimonov says that he sees no reason for women not to be released from this work. He

continues that there is a new attitude to oil: it cannot be renewed; it must be preserved. On the export of oil and gas, he says it must be done rationally, because it brings in dollars, but it will come to an end. The harmful emissions in Grozny are not the responsibility of this ministry. Why has sale of petrol fallen recently? This is not our business. Enterprises must be allowed to work independently and be able to build social facilities with their money. The ministry must help with new technology. Oilmen have to decide whether to spend a lot on good equipment or less on poor stuff. Filimonov speaks for 7 minutes.

The recorded relay of the afternoon session continues.

Ministers Approved

LD0308201589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1615 GMT continues its broadcast of a recorded relay of the 3 August afternoon session of the Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin.

Nishanov calls on Aypin. Aypin speaks for 6 minutes about ecology, the life of oilmen, and about the life of the little peoples whose territory contains deposits. The people have written to him about the barbarous way in which their hunting and pasture lands have been destroyed. There are no useless areas. All are used to support the local people. If people change their occupations they lose the cultural values and morality of their people. People are living in very poor conditions. How is it possible that these little peoples should disappear? The land of our forefathers should belong to us. There is applause.

Nishanov comments that nature and people should be preserved. He calls for a vote on Filimonov: none against, 9 abstentions.

Melnikov is then proposed as minister of timber industry. He is given 5 minutes to speak. He says that the industry has fallen behind because after the war there was a demand for timber at any price. Even now it has very low indices for the workers' social benefits. They should get much better housing and job security. There is a need for greater discipline at procurement plants. The ecology is important. People are concerned and so is he at the floating of timber down rivers. There is a draft law on the subject. Local conditions must be taken into account. The furniture industry suffers from a lack of equipment; he calls for permission to import. The industry needs its own equipment-making branch. He will depend on local bodies to help him.

An unidentified deputy asks about sleepers for railway lines; the ministry will consider it. On fires on Sakhalin, the area will have to be visited to give a realistic answer.

Deputy Chernykh then says there is a need for radical reorganization in the timber industry. She is from an oblast that knows Melnikov well and can judge him by his deeds; he enjoys great authority. She calls for support for him.

Deputy Angapov asks for 5 minutes. He talks about Baykal. He says young people are ready to defend nature. He calls for an end to felling around the lake. Cellulose combines need to be reorientated; the Irkutsk one is right on the shore of Baykal. Selenga Combine also supports Baykal. As a native of the area, he says it is a very important matter for him. Melnikov has shown himself sympathetic and should be voted for.

An unidentified deputy from Leningrad Oblast talks about a plant in his area on which thousands of rubles of hard currency have been spent but it is harming the atmosphere. What will he do about it?

At 1642 GMT, Nishanov says that since everyone is in favor they will vote: Melnikov is supported with three abstentions. Nishanov wishes him success.

An unidentified deputy speaks for 3 minutes about the flood disaster that has struck Maritime Kray giving figures of destruction of roads and bridges, etc; 15 people have been killed, but the figures are not complete. The Supreme Soviet should send condolences. He says the area needs help from the center.

Nishanov says they are all sorry and hope there will be central help. More details will be heard tomorrow. He calls for confirmation of the decree on activity of missions abroad. The Soviet of the Union approves with two against and one abstention. The Soviet of Nationalities has one against and four abstentions. Some deputies have asked to discuss the status of judges; this, he says, can be done tomorrow. He reads organizational announcements and proposals. Some deputies want to finish early so they can get home; perhaps they will have a shorter lunch break.

At 1650 GMT, the recording relay of the afternoon session ends.

Vorontsov Named Ecology Minister

LD0308211689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1650 GMT on 3 August continues its recorded relay of the 3 August Supreme Soviet session held in the Kremlin. At this time, the evening session is declared open.

Comrade Vorontsov is proposed as chairman of the State Committee for the Protection of Nature and speaks for 5 minutes. He says that the ecological problem is urgent. The USSR has a good record for setting up reserves, but later the attitudes changed and became very irresponsible. The state committee was set up rather late. The nature protection system needs to be reorganized.

Latvia has just decided to hand this responsibility over to its Supreme Soviet. Such a reorganization is worth thinking about, but the real basis is economic. He cites foreign experience in trying to clear up ecological disaster zones, which is expensive. There must be complete ecological glasnost. He says that the people involved in nature protection are very poorly paid, even though they might be doing dangerous work, combatting poachers.

At 1705 GMT, the chairman the names of those who have sent up questions. Vorontsov answers a question about termites; there are several species in the USSR. They were imported from Vietnam during the war via Vladivostok and caused great damage.

The chairman wants a vote, but some object. An unidentified deputy says Vorontsov has a problem with his biography; he was not in the party. He will need great help; there are numerous local nature protection committees in the country. Another deputy talks about status; this is important because the post is very responsible. He insists on getting an answer, though the chairman is unwilling. An unidentified deputy says the status should be that of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Deputy (Lyazhenko) wants to speak on behalf of his constituents; the chairman interrupts and says that speeches should only be on the subject of the candidate. There are ecological problems in every region.

An unidentified deputy speaks in favor of Vorontsov.

The voting is held: none against, eight abstentions.

At 1717 GMT, Rusak is put forward as chairman of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports. He says that the social protection of athletes is not good. He speaks of the need for improving facilities. Instructors must be trained and given diplomas. The situation is getting better but there is a lot still to be done. What about a turnaround in mass physical education? It can be done, despite financial difficulties. He gives figures of competitions arranged and attended by Soviet athletes; most efforts go to this. There is talk of splitting the two functions. There is a system for training high-quality athletes. The main task is to get all Soviet people to participate in sports. Most of the staff are teachers at institutions, which takes all their time. The need is to get people to work out independently. A good example must be set. It is no use for soldiers to do it only twice a week; it must be done every day. Otherwise it is a waste of money and effort. Lotteries will be held to aid sports for the disabled. There is a draft program on physical culture to improve the people's health.

At 1728 GMT, Deputy (Ryzhkov) asks about Rusak's work with students. Rusak outlines what he did when in charge of this and of the students' achievements. First year students chose their sport.

A deputy then asks about the need for an all-union sports committee when the republics could deal with the subject themselves. He also asks about the Olympic Committee and the republics. Rusak talks about international and regional competitions. Kabanov asks about plans for Krylatskoye and danger from water sources; Rusak does not know about them.

The chairman reads the names of other people who have asked questions.

At 1735 GMT, Borodin goes to the rostrum. He says we underestimate the importance of sports. There must be a single health protection program; sports occupy an important place in this. He regrets that Rusak has not included such a program in his plans and outlines. There were other candidacies that could have been discussed.

Budget Issues Discussed

LD0308213489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 3 August evening session of the Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin.

At 1738 GMT, Deputy Firsov says he is glad that Rusak is concerned about future generations. He talks about access to sports facilities. He supports Rusak. Deputy (?Fishkov) talks about Rusak's character and modesty, as well as the program he has put forward. It is a good thing to work out every day; Rusak should be supported.

An unidentified deputy complains that they have only found out today that the candidate is being put forward. Past sports policy destroyed mass student sport, and because Rusak was involved in this, it will be hard for him to change it in spite of his great experience; discussion should be postponed.

An unidentified deputy speaks on behalf of committees which discussed the candidacy yesterday, and which rejected the previous chairman Gromov. He says that Rusak has enough prestige and knowledge to tackle the problems. The USSR uses medicines rather than a healthy way of life. He praises Rusak's program. People have gotten used to medals.

A point of order: Deputy (Ivashko) complains about criticism by committee chairmen of one another.

There is indistinct comment from floor and comments from chair.

Voting is then held for rusak: 3 against; 32 abstentions. He is appointed.

At 1753 GMT, Gerashchenko speaks for 6 minutes on the need for change in the credit and banking system. A network of commercial banks must be set up; the first step was taken in 1987. Banking legislation must be worked out. He speaks of inflation processes, and the

circulation of money. The budget must not be financed by means of credit. He goes on to interest policy and savings, which worry many economists. The proportion of savings is not as high as people think, nor as it is in other countries.

There is a question from the floor about convertible currencies. Gerashchenko outlines historical development of banking reforms.

Deputy Kirilov asks about amounts in savings banks.

An unidentified deputy asks about a case when there was no money to pay Muscovites their salaries. Gerashchenko talks about procedures related to this.

An unidentified deputy asks about a recent interview with Gerashchenko in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI regarding exchange of hard currency. Gerashchenko talks about the Finance Ministry's role in determining how much currency Soviet citizens may take to other socialist countries, recalls recent restrictions imposed by CEMA countries' customs bodies.

At 1809 GMT, Primakov takes the vote on Gerashchenko's appointment. Gerashchenko is approved: 2 against; 5 abstentions. Primakov goes on to next item on agenda: statement by Maslyukov on economic plan for 1990. Maslyukov comes to rostrum.

Maslyukov reports for 36 minutes on the work on the plan and draft budget for 1990, which is nearing completion. The aim is to improve the economy as well as possible, to fulfill the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies. He mentions state debt, the budget deficit, and the rise in personal incomes—the points on which the work had to be based. The 1990 plan must stop the deterioration of the situation. Work to stabilize the consumer market will pick up in 1990. Lists planned and achieved figures for retail trade turnover. Reductions in capital investment are planned. Imports for heavy industry will also be cut sharply. Conversion processes in the defense industry will develop apace. The transition to leasing, cooperatives, and the like is mentioned. The plan should encourage such processes. Balancing the internal market is a serious problem; ways of doing this are outlined. Output of home-produced consumer goods must be increased. He cites figures for specific items: TVs, bicycles, vacuum machines etc. This work should have a high priority.

Session Concludes

LD0308222389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 3 August evening session of the Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin.

Maslyukov continues his report. He goes on to discuss tackling the budget deficit. He outlines measures planned to combat it. Financial autonomy is preferable

to diktat as a way of solving problems. The USSR state bank should become a body administering the whole monetary circulation system. He refers to the social program and cites figures to show how much attention is being paid to it. Structural changes are going on to encourage social development. He cites figures on housing construction, past and future. He refers to provisions for exports and imports in the plan, mentions a long-term program on the issue. The lack of balance in exports and imports, particularly in freely convertible currencies, is regretted. He cites figures for consumer goods imported from socialist and capitalist countries. He says that the country's economic problems must not delay radical reforms. The creation of a socialist market is important. He talks about a new taxation system; it must regulate the relationship between consumption and accumulation. A new concept for economic planning is mentioned. Regional and republic-level financial autonomy is praised as a deepening of reforms. In-depth examination of the plan must be carried out in the Supreme Soviet; Gosplan will make its experts available to help. The 1990 plan is all about balances: in income and expenditure, export and import etc. Gosplan intends to provide the Supreme Soviet with an extensive report on the plan. The plan also has to be studied in the government.

At 1845 GMT, Primakov invites questions for Maslyukov. Deputy Chernichenko asks about food imports. Maslyukov replies that a decision has not yet been made. Maslyukov then reads a question from a Volgograd deputy about supplies of buses and the like.

An unidentified deputy asks about vodka sales and refers to the black market in alcohol following official price rises. Maslyukov believes that alcohol consumption must be in accordance with government and central committee decisions.

A deputy from Izhevsk asks about chances for obtaining hard currency by encouraging tourism in his region. Maslyukov comments that virtually everybody who has dealings with tourists has been raising this issue and cites measures taken to encourage tourism.

Deputy Kirilov asks about state debt. Maslyukov clarifies the difference between debts to the state and the debts of the state. Kirilov also asks about plans to purchase consumer goods abroad. Maslyukov replies that we have to buy goods within our means.

At 1854 GMT, Primakov says that there should not be a debate as such. Deputy Tetenov asks about the priorities of the transport commission. Maslyukov declines to say whether the sector will get more or less. Primakov thanks Maslyukov for coming and asks deputies to put their questions to Maslyukov personally.

Primakov then offers the floor to Oleynik of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO, special administration committee.

Oleynik refers to hoped-for improvements in the NKAO. He reports on the activities of a commission of deputies which visited the oblast. They noted that earlier measures to normalize the situation are not having the desired effect; strikes and rising numbers of refugees are exacerbating matters. Fear and uncertainty are rife in the region, as is ethnic intolerance. The commission suggests restoration of the activity of civilian authorities while the NKAO remains an area under special administration. Speaking personally, Oleynik reminds leaders of their responsibility to ensure that people are provided with the necessities of life. The commission promises to continue doing everything to ameliorate the situation and appeals to both sides not to interfere in its work; the media should abstain from accusations. Oleynik, who speaks for 8 minutes, appeals to people to avoid bloodshed and display wisdom.

Primakov then moves on to other business. Deputy Belov comes to the rostrum and recalls yesterday's debate on labor disputes. The miners of the Ukraine are the grandchildren of those who suffered in the artificial famines of 1933-35. He refers to severe social problems in the areas affected by the strikes. Belov moves on to the Fergana events: similar things used to happen in the bad old days of stagnation, but they were never reported. He goes on to recall the John Tower affair; officials who drink excessively are a bad thing, yet Gosplan wants to increase output of the demon drink. Why is the power ministry planning to sell energy abroad? There should be elections for the deputy chairman of Gosplan. There should be an economy drive, rather than foreign loans.

At 1919 GMT, Nishanov takes over the chair and calls Deputy Salykov to the rostrum. Salykov lists various areas where ecological concerns are running high, sends a message to Gorbachev via the Presidium. Nishanov then asks deputies to raise their ecological questions tomorrow. He makes a few announcements about the venue and timing of various committee meetings.

At 1924 GMT, the recorded relay of the 3 August Supreme Soviet proceedings concludes.

Further Reportage on 3 Aug Supreme Soviet Session

Filimonov, Melnikov Confirmed as Ministers
LD0308152289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Report by commentator Ludmila Semina on the 3 August Supreme Soviet session]

[Excerpts] At the session today the following were confirmed: changes and additions to the law on state enterprise; ministers of the petroleum and gas industry and of the timber industry; and the decree on trade missions abroad.

Now here are the details. Supreme Soviet members noted today that already the second cardinal decision [the law on state enterprise] has been adopted at the session.

The discussion was constructive. All the boldest proposals were taken into consideration. Even Nikolay Ilich Travkin was pleased—you know, he is a well-known builder and very much a man of principle. The essence of the proposed changes in this law was set out by academician Abalkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

[Begin Abalkin recording] First, we proceeded from the need to give the right to enterprises and their labor collectives to independently carry out the choice of management forms. The labor collectives, independently and without the consent of a higher body, can choose any of the existing management forms including the development of leasing, the use of shareholding forms, and so forth. More than that, we also think it essential and possible, in connection with the development of the processes which are taking place in society, to offer to enterprises, as independent socialist procedures of goods, the right to come out on the securities market, and to issue shares in order to mobilize additional financial resources; to implement special-purpose loans, and to conduct other, similar operations.

Second, a number of enterprises put the question of broadening their independence in marketing produce produced above the state order. A number of norms exist in this respect, on the right of enterprises to deal independently with output produced above the state plan, but at the same time there are quite a few enterprises, especially in the fuel and raw materials sectors of the economy, which cannot make use of these rights because the state order comes to 100 percent of the volume of the output produced by them and the workload of capacities. It appears expedient to introduce changes to these existing norms of the state law; to expand the enterprises' possibilities to use production output with a technical purpose which is produced above the state order and the right to use it independently, developing both direct economic ties, and the free marketing of this produce, including going out on the world market. Moreover, a norm is being established in accordance with which the state order can never, and under no conditions, embrace the entire volume of output, and should be lower than 100 percent without fail.

Apart from that, in the corresponding enterprise law article which envisages the right to establish the state order, we propose introducing an apparently editorial [redaktsionnyy] amendment, but one in principle. The thing is that in accordance with the state enterprise law, the right to determine the composition of the state order, as it is determined here, is given to the USSR's Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and to ministries and departments, and others. In the editorial it is proposed to remove from that article ministries and departments,

and to leave the exclusive right to determine the composition of the state order only to the one all-state body, the USSR Gosplan, excluding the ministries' right to establish the composition of the state order.

The third amendment, which is of a vital and principal nature, is connected with the abolition of the correlation, envisaged by the current law, in regulating pay through the normative correlations between increase in pay and labor productivity. [end recording]

Abalkin especially dwelled on problems of emerging from the financial crisis. He said that especially on this question there will be a report by Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR Gosplan, but measures have already been established in the enterprise law to improve finances.

In a break between sittings, after discussion, amendments were introduced to the law, and in the final analysis it was adopted by an absolute majority of deputies' votes.

Leonid Ivanovich Filimonov was confirmed today as the country's minister of petroleum and gas industry. This candidacy was proposed by enterprises and associations.

Yeremey Danilovich Aypin, a deputy from the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, read an appeal from the peoples of the okrug to the Supreme Soviet. Then, when Vladimir Ivanovich Melnikov's candidacy was being discussed for the post of timber industry minister—he is first secretary of Komi CPSU Oblast Committee and a people's deputy, and he was endorsed for the minister-ship—Deputy Semen Vasiliyevich Angapov, a Buryat, spoke. There was the same pain of a representative of an indigenous population at the thoughtless and barbaric attitude toward our natural resources. [passage omitted]

The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is coming to an end. Tomorrow is the last day, but one can already say today that the deputies' intense work has brought important decisions, with whose help we will be able to change a great deal for the better.

Non-Communist Elected Minister

LD0308164789 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT
3 Aug 89

"First Non-Party Member of Soviet Government Elected—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent: The names of another five members of the new Soviet Government became known today following their endorsement at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Leonid Filimonov, 54, was confirmed as minister of the oil and gas industry of the USSR. An oil engineer by qualification, he climbed through all the steps of the entire production and management hierarchy to rise to

the post of first deputy minister of this industry. In setting out his program, Filimonov said that he intends to implement a host of measures for a rational utilisation of fuel resources, first and foremost, through ensuring complete oil and gas processing. He declared for bringing the wholesale prices of fuel in the country closer to the world level and for the industry's active involvement in foreign economic activity.

Vladimir Melnikov, who served as first secretary of the regional committee of the Soviet Communist Party of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, was endorsed for the post of the Soviet wood industry minister. Melnikov, 54, is a forestry engineer by qualification. In a brief speech to deputies he promised to pay particular attention to ecological problems, including updating and building additional purification facilities.

Professor Nikolay Vorontsov, the 55-year-old doctor of biological sciences, will be the first non-party member of the present Council of Ministers. He was confirmed to head the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation. Vorontsov favours full openness in ecological issues, the strengthening of the legal foundations of nature conservation and its rational use, and an ecological and economic study before locating new economic projects. In his view, it is necessary that the legislation provide for giving preference to the indigenous population of regions in using local nature resources.

Nikolay Rusak, 55, will now head the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports (goskomsport). In recent years, he served as first deputy chairman of this committee. Responding to deputies' question on the expediency of having the committee for physical culture and sport as the sole such institution for the whole of the country, Rusak noted that this state body is called upon, in part, to coordinate the participation of sportsmen from all union republics in international competitions and conduct methodological work to develop the newest training methods.

Speaking about his attitude to the creation in some republics of independent Olympic committees, Rusak said that this is an imperative of the times. In his view their efforts should be focussed on the organization of international sports competitions in regions, for instance, Baltic games.

Viktor Gerashchenko, 52, was the last among the candidates to ministerial posts discussed by the Soviet parliament today. He was confirmed as chairman of the USSR state bank governing board. Earlier, he served at Vneshtorgbank and last year he was appointed as first deputy chairman of the USSR bank for foreign economic activity governing board.

Speaking to deputies, Gerashchenko stressed that the policy of direct state loans from banks, enterprises, cooperatives and the population should be developed to cover budget needs, accumulating their real savings rather than meeting budget requirements through credit or monetary emission.

The posts of the minister of transport, culture and also the post of the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, responsible for foreign economic activity, remain vacant.

Call for Chemical Weapons Ban

LD0308111489 Moscow TASS in English 1055 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—A ban on chemical weapons was discussed today at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR parliamentary group.

Yevgeniy Primakov, the chairman of the group and chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Aleksandr Dzasokhov, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for International Affairs, and other speakers pointed out that now that progress had been achieved at the talks within the framework of the Geneva conference on disarmament and the preparation of a convention banning chemical weapons was being completed, parliaments would need to decide on their countries' accession to such a convention.

The participants in the meeting considered and endorsed the text of the Soviet parliamentary group's appeal to parliamentarians of the world on this issue. The appeal contains specific proposals concerning forms of inter-parliamentary cooperation aimed at permanently removing the threat of chemical war.

'Text' of Chemical Weapons Ban Appeal

LD0308180689 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Follows the text of an appeal endorsed by the Soviet parliamentary group today:

The USSR parliamentary group appeals to the parliaments of the world on one of the priority disarmament issues—a chemical weapons ban.

The arsenals are full of combat toxic agents. Dangerous reports on the spread and use of chemical weapons are coming in. A total and global elimination of all stockpiles of chemical weapons and of the industrial basis for their manufacturing, as well as a ban on development and production of chemical weapons are essential to rid mankind of the chemical war threat. This task is realistic and can be implemented.

A convention banning chemical weapons will, undoubtedly, mark a major shift in the real disarmament process started by the Soviet-American INF Treaty and will extend it from bilateral accords to multilateral agreements, from nuclear arms to other mass destruction weapons.

The results of the Paris conference, held in January 1989 and attended by 149 countries, indicate the desire of the world community to remove the chemical war threat. Its final declaration passed on the basis of mutual consent calls for redoubling efforts to conclude a convention banning chemical weapons in the near future.

Encouraging progress has been achieved at the talks held as part of the Geneva disarmament conference and the convention's preparation has entered its final stage. Most of its provisions have already been formulated and all unresolved issues can be solved. With consent of all participants, the Paris conference urged all countries to join the convention shortly after its conclusion.

Parliaments will play an extremely important role by deciding for their countries' participation in this convention.

The Soviet parliamentary group urges the parliaments of the world to vote for their countries' participation in the convention and calls for inter-parliamentary cooperation.

The USSR parliamentary group suggests:

First, to discuss parliaments' role in speeding up the elaboration of a convention banning chemical weapons and eliminating chemical weapons stocks with the aim of eventual removal of the chemical war threat at the nearest conference of the inter-parliamentary union.

Second, ask the Geneva conference on disarmament to arrange meetings of members of parliament with participants in the Geneva talks so that the MPs could get acquainted with the state of affairs at the negotiations and discuss the role of parliaments in creating favourable conditions for the convention's entry into force.

Third, to hold meetings, seminars and symposiums, sponsored by the inter-parliamentary union or national parliaments, to discuss specific issues concerning parliaments' role in putting the future convention in force and providing legal guarantees of its implementation in different countries, as well as the setting up of national monitoring bodies, etc.

The Soviet parliamentary group is planning to organise such a seminar in Moscow in the near future and is inviting MPs from other countries to take part in its work.

Inter-parliamentary contacts could make it possible to discuss other forms of parliamentary cooperation in banning all chemical weapons.

Addressing the parliaments of the world on chemical weapons ban, the Soviet parliamentary group announces its readiness for a constructive dialogue in this field. It understands the need to use the potential of state legislatures for removing the chemical war threat once and for all.

[Signed] The USSR parliamentary group.

Maslyukov Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD0408003189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1811 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Speech by Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR State Planning Committee chairman, at the evening sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet's 3 August session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Comrade deputies, complicated work in considering the draft state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1990 and the making of very crucial and difficult state decisions are in store for the government in August and September of this year, this work is in store for the USSR Supreme Soviet, its commissions and committees. Today, in response to numerous requests by commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I am reporting to the Supreme Soviet on the state of development of the draft plan for 1990, on the state of affairs to date. Together with the central economic departments, we are completing our work on the draft plan and the state budget for 1990.

I can say immediately that the draft plan will assume its final form when it has been worked on by the government. The main approaches to it, however, its parameters, basic proportions and priorities, the most topical problems, and the ways and means of solving them have on the whole already taken shape. First of all, I would like to say that all the work by the State Planning Committee, by the central economic departments, by the ministries of union republics, by enterprises on the state...on state, republican, and other plans has proceeded under the banner of the maximum improvement in the economic position of the country and the implementation of the decisions of the first Congress of People's Deputies, the wishes expressed at the present session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the mandates of deputies. This concerns taking into account in the plan not only the congress decisions on pensions, but also on the fundamental provisions of structural investment policy, on the development of economic reform, in a word, on many questions the congress and the Supreme Soviet raised. Not a single thing you have said has been ignored. It is another matter as to how we and subsequently, the government, will manage to incorporate all this into such a difficult plan, which, considering the economic situation that has come about in the country, is of an extraordinary nature. I will remind you of the initial basis, from which we started work on the 1990 draft plan: a state debt of R312 billion; a budget deficit of R120 billion; the increase in the money of the population is growing at twice the rate of production of consumer goods. As a result there is an issue: Money is being issued that is not covered by goods. In the first 6 months of the current year, the amount issued was R8 billion.

Our external economic debt is R34 billion, and so far we have been unable to keep it from growing further. The roots of this situation go deep; they have been spoken of in detail and I will not repeat myself. The important

thing is for the plan for 1990 to put matters right, rather than making them worse. Another reason why this is important is that the plan completes the current 5-year period—in other words, the plan for 1990 is first of all intended to halt the worsening of the country's economic position and quell in real terms the build-up of social tension in society.

In the second place, as the plan ushering in the 13th 5-Year Plan, it is meant to create a basis for the dynamic development of the economy in the very near future. It is in 1990 that work will get under way on a large scale for the creation of a financially healthier economy; and the main basis of that improvement is the stabilizing of the consumer market. Total production of consumer goods is to be increased by 12 percent compared to the 1989 plan, while the gross national product will only increase by 2 percent. That indicates that the whole plan, in all its tasks and proportions, has been decisively turned in the direction of maximizing output of consumer goods—and I emphasize—above all of domestically produced goods, although we are also striving to underpin this problem area with tangible imports.

Retail goods exchange is to reach R435 billion—in other words, it will increase by a minimum of R40 billion compared to last year's plan. And in the previous 4 years, 1986-1989, our goods turnover increased by an average of about R15 billion, so that in 1990 we must, and can, literally make a leap in this respect.

Next year we have planned—and this takes into account the demands of many deputies and will considerably improve our finances—a tough and, I'd say, resolute reduction of the state's centralized capital investments in the production sphere and sharp cut-back of new construction. That process already began in 1989, when capital investments in the production sphere fell, albeit not substantially. In 1990 that process assumes the character of an exceptional measure. In the draft plan, state centralized capital investments in the production sphere will fall by an average of 30 percent compared with the current year. Moreover, with respect to particular complexes the reduction will be considerably greater. Thus, 1989 and 1990 will be the first years in all the periods of the peaceful development of the Soviet economy to have an absolute industrial investment.

Another exceptional measure of the 1990 plan will be the dramatic cut in importation of a number of goods and items, mainly for heavy industry. Of course, this is being done in such a way that production of and resources for consumer goods are not affected, but it will result in a tangible drop in the production of a number of industrial Group A items. For example, the reduction in the import of ferrous rolled metals, including cold-rolled sheet, will force us to propose an absolute reduction in the production of freight vehicles and certain other machinery.

This is a complex matter and we still have to discuss it in detail, comrade deputies, in the Supreme Soviet's commissions and committees. One thing is clear, however: We must genuinely identify the construction projects and products which the people and the national economy can do without in 1990 and subsequent years.

The year 1990 will be a year in which the conversion processes in the defense industries will accelerate sharply. The large-scale creation of a civilian sector in the defense industries is a phase that must be traversed as fast as possible, and 1990 should be the crucial year on this road.

One more feature of the draft plan for 1990: When drawing it up we made the assumption that it would be implemented in conditions of the transitional nature of the economic reform with being further intensified and developed as the primary link of social production. A process of transition to leasehold relations and healthy cooperative forms of management is beginning. A process of creating associations, concerns, and consortiums is under way at the initiative of labor collectives, and this process will also continue in 1990. A great deal of work is being done to establish the ownership of enterprises by various industries or union republics as a result of their reorganization and in connection with the onset of regional self-management. Whole industries are being transferred to the jurisdiction of the union republics.

In drawing the draft plan for 1990 we were unable to wait for this whole complex process to end. The plan has been drawn up in the new organizational structure; but that structure is going to change objectively, and it goes without saying that the state plan should not hinder these processes but, on the contrary, actively support them.

At the same time, in a number of cases these processes are running ahead of the formation of a new set of economic tools. The market in means of production is not functioning, nor are the mechanisms for regulating prices and credit and for developing the economy. And this is not only and not so much due to the lethargy of any of the leading bodies at the center or in the republics, but is due more to the objective difficulties which we confront in the process of forming a socialist market. These difficulties are aggravated by the shortages and low quality of many types of material and technical products, by wastefulness and bad management—which are far from having been eliminated from our economic life—and by the growth in inflationary processes. All of this indicates that the process of forming a market can proceed in stages and that it cannot be done overnight. And at the present stage, we cannot let go of all the threads and levers for managing the national economy.

At the same time, I would like to stress the main thing: In drawing up the draft plan for 1990, in spite of its unusual nature, there has been strict observance of all the conditions on the activity of enterprises defined by the Law on State Enterprises and the amendments to it introduced by the Council of Ministers and adopted by you today.

In the most general terms, these are some of the most important features of the draft plan for 1990. Now allow me to dwell in somewhat greater detail on some of the most acute problems of the plan and the coming year. These include, first of all, the problem of balancing the internal market. I must stress that the tendency which began last year for the growth in the population's monetary income to exceed all proportions, in spite of all the efforts to regulate them fairly, is still continuing this year. Thus, for example, in the first half of 1989 the growth in the gross national product was 3.5 percent, growth in productivity of social labor was 2.8 percent, while the total wages of the national economy grew by 9.5 percent. Last year the population's monetary income increased by R41 billion and in the first half of this year it grew by R28 million.

But in the final analysis it is not this which should make us wary, but the inability today of the USSR's production potential to provide the necessary increase in foodstuffs, goods, and services which would be adequate for that growth. No economy can develop normally with such disparities. The consequences of this are evident: increased difficulties on the consumer market, the intensification of inflationary processes, and the further exacerbation of monetary circulation. And no foreign fairy godmother will solve these problems for us.

It is, thus, a most important task to channel the growth of the populations's monetary income into a normal economic course, with maximum increases in our own production of goods and services. We are against all kinds of artificial restrictions that prevent working people from earning money through honest effort, but we are also in favor of firmly blocking the channels through which unearned money is obtained and goods are siphoned off into a narrow strata of the population. Today's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet took a major step in that direction introducing into our economic system taxation methods of regulation by adopting a decision on the introduction, starting October this year, of the tax regulation of the means of enterprises that are being directed toward the remuneration of labor instead of normative correlations, which have failed to justify themselves. This will soon have a substantial effect on the stabilization of the circulation of money throughout the country.

According to our plan assessments, to balance the population's current monetary income and expenditure next year, the projected volume of the turnover of state cooperative trade, amounting to R435 billion, as I have already said, is sufficient. However, the attainment of that quantity will be an extremely difficult task for the whole national economy, all the union republics, all enterprises, collectives and state farms, and so on. I want to stress once again that the basis for the stabilization of the domestic market is provided by increasing domestic production of consumer goods and services for the population and the whole complementary spectrum.

To increase the production of them by 18 percent—and that is the figure that features today in the draft plan—including a 24 percent rise in consumer goods for cultural and domestic use, tremendous resources are required as well as organization and discipline. Such growth has never taken place in our country in the past and over the 5-year plan period as a whole.

I shall quote a few figures for various kinds of goods and manufactured articles. In 1990, as compared with 1989, the production of television sets will increase by 835,000 as opposed to 257 [thousand] over 3 years of the 5-year plan. The figure for bicycles is 380,000 as opposed to 270,000; in the case of washing machines, 2.6 million as opposed to 1 million; vacuum cleaners—2.2 million as opposed to 730,000. Furniture output should rise by R1.250 billion and the production of video recorders will grow 3.7 times; small tractors and motorized cultivators by 2.7 times, and minitractors by 3 times. I state in all seriousness that the production base for providing such a growth of goods exists in the country, bearing in mind the active transfer to this work of a majority of the enterprises in the defense complex.

But the most important thing in this work is to ensure that the trade turnover is based on actual goods, not just expressed in terms of prices. We believe that this work should be given a nationwide character and the top state priority.

The second central problem—which is, of course, close to the first—is financial recovery. The task has been set of adopting all measures to cut the state's financial deficit by approximately a half, taking as our starting point the already mentioned deficit of R120 billion which has developed in the current year. In what main areas is planning and financial work being conducted here? All areas are being used: orientation toward a tangible reduction in prime costs and a high growth in profits at enterprises; a considerable increase in output of consumer goods and, consequently, a growth in turnover tax; a significant reduction in state centralized capital investments for production; a real reduction in expenditure on defense and on maintaining the administrative apparatus; a fight against loss-making and wastefulness; tightening up the drive for savings in the national economy as a whole; and a number of other measures.

It is these measures, specifically, which are meant to enable us to reach a completely new correlation in 1990, for the first time in recent 5-year plan periods, when we ensure that the state's income grows more quickly than its expenditure. However, we have not managed to eliminate the deficit in the state's finances completely in 1990, and this needs to be said frankly. After all, it is impossible for one of the most complicated problems in our economy, which accumulated over many years, to be solved completely in such a period of time, in just one year. Therefore, in the next 2 to 3 years we shall inevitably have to resort to borrowing resources from the

credit system, but we believe that the character of the USSR Finance Ministry's relations with the banks should be changed fundamentally.

What is the essence of the changes? In the first place, requirements for the scale on which resources are borrowed should be cut significantly. Second—and this is the most important thing—instead of withdrawing resources directly, we should go over to issuing treasury bills, or securities, which provide their owners with a stable income. Let the banks decide how many of these securities to sell to enterprises and how much of their own resources to invest in their purchase. In other words, relations in the finance and credit system should be built in the future on financially-autonomous foundations, and not on the principles of diktat.

We should also look for more flexible economic methods of mobilizing the free monetary resources of the population. We think that it is time to tackle the problem of reviewing interest rates on deposits, in order to stimulate the population to make long-term investments with their savings.

Here a great number of different modern forms of mobilizing money are possible: Specific proposals on this question are now being worked out by the government.

Speaking of stepping up the role of the banks in developing the economy, I would stress that a great number of urgent questions have piled up here, the solution of which should, in the last resort, lead to the USSR State Bank becoming in actual fact the body controlling monetary circulation in the country as a whole, using the mechanisms well known in world practice to regulate the circulation of money. But this is a separate question, and it, too, is being examined by the government at present.

We have examined carefully various proposals on methods for attracting the people's spare money by means of bonds. We consider it expedient to step up the process by floating loans at quite high rates of interest. Of course the placing of bonds for such a loan would be voluntary. As for the floating of various loans with the promise of acquiring in the future various goods and services, which the press has been writing about a lot recently, this must be the prerogative of the republics, local soviets of people's deputies, and enterprises. Such loans could be issued, taking into account the goods resources at their disposal.

The next area of most important questions in the draft plan for 1990, which I would like to dwell on in particular, is the planned social program. The social reorientation of the state plan is the main demand which has been expressed both at the Congress of People's Deputies and at the Supreme Soviet. This process is manifesting itself fairly perceptibly already now in 1989. As a result, the share of the production accumulation fund in just the

2 years 1989 and 1990 should fall by 5 percent. Against the background of (very) inert processes on the macroeconomic level, this is an unprecedented structural change.

Many people's deputies demanded such a change in this most important ratio. And we report that the national economy is today ready for it. But we cannot fail to be concerned at the problem of what it means for the near future. This is a complex question, and we have to adopt a well considered approach to it. I believe that we must balance carefully such a steep reduction in the share of production accumulation, dictated to a large extent by demands for financial improvement with the demand for a normal process of expanding production in the national economy, in which scientific and technical progress takes priority. This question should be the subject of a special, thorough examination in the commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet since the situation needs to be corrected today, and we need to advance both today and tomorrow.

As a result of such a radical structural stimulus in the direction of strengthening the social direction of the economy, the increment in resources for consumption and nonproduction construction in 1986-90 must be 22 percent, or R100 billion, as against 65 billion in the last 5-year plan period.

Changes continue to mount in the structure of capital investments. The proportion of the nonproduction sphere in 1990 will increase to almost 28 percent as against 25 percent under the 1989 plan. This change in the macroeconomic proportions will make it possible to carry out a broad range of centralized state undertakings to raise the standard of living of the people.

I wish to report to you, comrade deputies, that the draft plan for 1990 provides for the complete fulfilment of all the government's specific commitments that it has made to the Supreme Soviet. Thus the draft plan takes into account all the measures in respect of raising retirement benefits that were adopted by the first Congress of People's Deputies. They include increasing the minimum benefits for old-age, invalids, and the widows and parents of dead servicemen; eliminating the differences in the benefit provisions for collective-farmers, manual workers, and office staff; and a whole number of other measures. It is known that the outlay on these measures annually is estimated at over R6 billion, but, as you know, their introduction begins this autumn, and about R1.6 billion will be spent on this. The draft also takes into account measures to raise the people's living standards that are being carried over from the current year of 1989. They include such measures as the increase in the length of maternity leave for working women from 56 to 70 calendar days as well as paid leave to look after a child until it reaches the age of 18 months, the raising of the age of children for which child benefits are paid in low-income families to 12 years, an increase in expenditures on catering in preschools, the introduction of

regional rates, and a number of other measures including those which have been adopted very recently. In all it is planned in 1990 to budget over R10 billion for implementing centralized measures envisaged by the social program and the additional decisions of the directive bodies and the Congress of People's Deputies. This is 2 and 1/2 times the amount reflected in the plans for 1988 and 1989.

I wish to stress, comrade deputies, that this is only state centralized undertakings. In the new economic management system a considerable range of social undertakings are carried out with the funds of enterprises within the limits of the funds earned by the work collectives themselves. In particular, as previously, the completion of work on increasing pay rates and salaries of workers and employees in the production sector of the national economy will be conducted in this way.

Finally, it is necessary to speak of nonproduction construction and above all of housing. A total of 384 million square meters of housing was already brought into use in the 1986-88 period. The average annual commissioning of housing was almost 18 million square meters greater than the average annual commissioning rate during the years of the 11th 5-Year Plan. It is the first time that such a scale of housing construction has been achieved. A level for commissioning housing exceeding the average annual rate of commissioning achieved during the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan period is planned for 1990.

The overall area of housing commissioned during the 5-year plan as a whole should be at least 650 million square meters, which is 100 million square meters more than during the past 5-year plan. The planned scale of housing construction will make it possible to increase the average provision of housing per capita from 14.6 square meters to 16.1 square meters by the end of 1990. Major volumes of other sociocultural facilities are to be brought into service as well. Such is the social program for 1990, which you will be examining and assessing in conjunction with the resources available in our state. It's a broad and multifaceted program, but it must be said, comrade deputies, that it is at the limit of our economy's capabilities. The general task will, therefore, be to objectively regulate the flow of demands on the government in such a way as to ensure that all our decisions and promises are fulfilled.

Finally, one more problem that we still have to resolve together: the export-import plan. Like the deputies, we are extremely concerned over the existing raw material orientation of Soviet exports and the need for large purchases of food, grain, metals, and a broad range of chemical goods. This necessity is brought about by the present state, including difficulties and problems of those branches of the economy. To pay for these imports we are obliged to sell what the country now possesses. It is not a problem you can solve immediately; it will take years. In this connection a long-term strategy for foreign economic links has been drawn up, along with a development program for the country's export base. These

indicate ways of overcoming the situation. The drawing-up of the plan for 1990 is made difficult in the extreme by the imbalance of the export-import plan, especially in freely convertible currency. Unfortunately, we are unable to restrain the growth in foreign debt. It must be said that when we were working through various options of the 1990 plan as a whole, we actually based them to a considerable extent on different import-export plan options. I wish to report to you, comrades, that this is where we now have the greatest number of unresolved problems. This is the reason for the delay in forwarding the government's plans.

One major problem connected with the import-export plan is the increase in consumer goods purchases. Overall, we are purchasing more than R7 billion worth of consumer goods, most of which comes from the socialist countries. This year there was a considerable increase in purchases from the capitalist countries but the opportunities for increasing goods imports from the socialist [as heard] countries are limited, which means that we must solve the task of supplying the market in 1990 with R10 billion—in retail prices—worth of goods purchased for freely convertible currency. This being the case, the market will be supplied with finished imported goods with a retail value of almost R32 billion.

In addition, it is planned to buy medicines worth about R2 billion and raw and other materials for light industry worth about R1.6 billion, which will to a large extent ensure an increase in the output of consumer goods by Soviet industry. For your information I will say that R1 billion spent on raw material items for light industry gives R14 billion worth of goods at retail prices.

We took as our point of departure that the extreme economic situation must not hold up the economic reform. More than that, to speak figuratively, the most extreme measure is to deepen the reform, and to give it a radical nature. This is the direction in which the maximum effect can be expected, and—this is very important—the movement for economic reform, the push which was given from the center, goes extremely powerfully from below. This demand of genuine financial autonomy is found among the workers, in the union republics, and in the oblasts. The task of the center is, first of all, to help this movement in all ways, and second, to find its support in it.

The most important of the strategic tasks of the reform, in our opinion, are the following: first, a radical renewal of attitude to socialist property, guaranteeing the multi-formity and competitiveness of its forms. On the other hand, the renewal of state property means the further development of money-exchange relationships, the creation of a socialist market, and of a perfected system of economic methods for managing the economy. In discussing the law on property, our aim must be to ensure the equality of different types of property, and thereby ensure their genuine competitiveness as well.

As practical steps in creating a market, one could point to the sharp reduction—two or threefold—of the share of state orders in 1989-90 in comparison with 1988, and also the move over to wholesale trade. The step-by-step introduction of wholesale trade has for the time being led to complications in the system of material and technical supply, in as far as the old principle of limitations instead of free sale still exists in the practice of wholesale trade. Here, too, there is a great deal of work to be done.

The changeover to market relations is bound up in the closest possible way with the introduction of an integral tax system. A proposal on the first stage of this, progressive taxation on wage funds from 1990, was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet session today, and further steps are connected with the introduction of taxation on the income of enterprises. A series of alternatives on this complex problem have already been worked out, and we are continuing to work on them, so as to have a draft law on this matter by the end of the year.

The new tax system must not be of a purely fiscal nature, but must be a regulator of the most important macro-economic ratios, inter alia, a regulator of relations between consumption and accumulation.

There must be favorable tax concessions on those funds which enterprises direct to developing production, scientific and technical progress, expanding production potential and objectives in the social sphere, i.e., toward the accumulation of wealth. And, on the other hand, there should be heavier tax pressure on the resources which—putting it vulgarly—we are eating through. This would assure that we would leave behind the practice, which was formed previously, of not living according to our means.

Second, forms have also been developed connected with the switch to a new concept of centralized planning. The essence of this consists of concentrating on determining the basic proportions of a socially oriented economy, the aims and priorities of the development of the national economy, including scientific and technical progress, of the nodal indices and programs for providing progressive structural changes, the coordination of regional aims with those of the national economy.

A concrete task of the State Planning Committee [Gosplan] is organically to include state planned centralism in a renewed economy where various forms of ownership will function—the socialist market and a democratic form of governing enterprises. We are continuing to work on the concept of state orders, bearing in mind their optimal level and renouncing 100 percent state orders for the most important types of products, in order to expand the rights of enterprises.

Third, a highly important area of the restructuring of state planning today is the transition in the draft plan for 1990 of the union republics to self-government and self-financing. As you know, the first to make that transition,

from the beginning of 1990, will be the Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republics. A number of regions of Russia and Belorussia are also preparing to switch to financial autonomy. If we are to speak of the main thing that 1990 will see introduced into the development of economic reform, then it is undoubtedly regional and republican financial autonomy. Therein lies the enormous role of the draft plan for next year. The implementation of this large task demands the elaboration of new methods of state planning and their reflection in the draft plan for 1990. The deepening of reform must be consolidated legislatively by a decision of the Congress of People's Deputies. USSR Gosplan is therefore actively participating in the preparation of appropriate legislative decisions.

The last thing I would like to say is this: After the government submits the draft plan to the Supreme Soviet, in the framework of the commission and at the session of the Supreme Soviet, we will be faced with the very difficult work—unfamiliar probably both to you and to us—of examining the plan in depth. We are preparing thoroughly for that work. The experts at USSR Gosplan, the Minister of Finance, and other central economic departments aim constantly to be ready to make available to you, comrade deputies, any information and, if necessary, skilled consultation. We are involving in this work all the industrial complexes of Gosplan. Certainly, the State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] with its computer center, and also all the subsections of the Ministry of Finance and other USSR central economic ministries and departments, must also be involved in this work.

We also have in mind that the Supreme Soviet will involve independent experts in examining the plan, but their work, too, needs close liaison with the specialists of the State Planning Committee and other economic bodies in the formulation of the required information, and a great deal of such information is required.

I am informing you, comrades, that the government will submit for the Supreme Soviet's consideration and approval a draft economic plan for next year whose structure and indicators will be in strict accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise, will take account of the amendments to it that were adopted today, and will take account of the approaches to the plans for the economic and social development of union republics. This is to say that in the draft state plan that will be submitted for your approval we will reflect major economic balances of the national economy such as the combined financial balance of the state, the balance of the population's monetary income, and outlay, the combined balance for the formulation and distribution of capital investments, as well as the currency and foreign trade balance. This section of the draft plan characterizes the general state of the country's economy, shows what we plan to achieve next year, and covers practically all the key spheres of operation of the national economy.

I think, comrade deputies, that when you have worked through the draft plan you will see that it provides extensive room for the independent activity of enterprises and union republics. You will be able to assess independently and, if need be, take the relevant decisions on what is being planned by the center and is as yet being left on its hands.

At the same time the plan itself, just in this form, seems inefficient to us for a deep analysis of its proportions. Therefore, we intend to submit a very extensive report on the draft plan for 1990 and a large amount of information material from the viewpoint of complexes, sectors, and particular problems to you. Of course, as I have already said, all necessary additional information will be presented in the course of its consideration. If during the consideration we go in depth into the industries, we will involve the ministries, too. Prior to this the USSR State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, and other central economic bodies are faced by a further no less difficult task: working through this draft plan in detail in the government.

In conclusion, comrade deputies, for the period that we will be working through the proportions of the plan in the government allow me to express the wish that you have a good rest and gather your strength [laughter from deputies] since together we will be faced by a great amount of difficult work. Thank you for your attention. (applause)

Deputy on NKAO Situation

LD0308222489 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1856 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Speech by Boris Ilich Oleynik, of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO, special administration committee, at the evening sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet's 3 August session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Most honorable people's deputies, esteemed presidium, dear colleagues from the special commission: At your instruction, with profound respect for the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and for all the people of Karabakh, I am obliged to read a sort of preliminary account of the present situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. If the commission members notice any alterations to the text we agreed on, they have been made in connection with the rapidly changing—and not for the better—situation in the region. So here we are:

In fulfilment of the decision of the first Congress of People's Deputies, a Supreme Soviet commission was set up to study the present real state of affairs in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Being aware of the full responsibility of its mission, the commission attempted to study the essence of the existing situation in every rayon in the oblast, without exception. To this end, meetings were held with labor collectives, workers, peasants, and various strata of the public, with the party

economic aktiv, and with refugees of both nationalities. At the same time, each deputy received citizens from both sides on personal matters. As a result of the work done, each of us and the entire commission jointly arrived at the unequivocal conclusion that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has gone beyond the degree of aggravation that could be described as explosive. Unfortunately, the measures taken earlier to normalize the situation and restore trust have not produced the proper results. The measures set out in decisions by the directive bodies to improve and alter the structure of the economy have been implemented in an inconsistent and uncomprehensive manner, and have not been underpinned by the appropriate material and technical back-up. The protracted strikes and stoppages in the leading industries of the national economy and the ever-growing number of refugees are having a pernicious effect on the working people's material situation and are exacerbating the moral and political atmosphere. The alienation between the Armenian and Azerbaijani sections of the NKAO population now has taken on exceptionally severe forms. This can be seen at every level of public life. Uncertainty, fear, and constant nervous stress create the real danger of a further increase in tension. This is witnessed by instances of the destruction and desecration of historical and cultural monuments, by arson attacks on houses, and by cruelty toward people of a different nationality.

Taking into consideration the extreme deterioration in the situation in the oblast and realizing that the slightest delay in removing the tension is fraught with unforeseen consequences, the priority tasks the solution of which brooks no delay are, in our opinion, as follows: the creation of preconditions for gradually getting out of the crisis; an end to violence, and the protection of people's lives and property; the creation of conditions for providing guarantees for the observance of the ethnic, social, and other rights of both nationalities in Karabakh.

With this purpose, it would be possible to examine in addition the possibility of restoring the activity of the civil authorities in the oblast, given preservation of its status as a region of special administration with strict consideration of the interests of the two sides.

Now, comrades, I want to say in a purely human fashion, as a poet:

Dear, esteemed brothers and sisters of both republics, and especially the leaders;

Go on, make one step, or at least half a step, toward each other. After all, both peoples are suffering in the same way. The primary responsibility for this lies on you, the leaders. You, the leading people of the republic, must do everything so that Karabakh children, just like all other children in the country, sit down at their school desks on 1 September; so that people to have water, bread, and salt; so that the innocent, long-suffering refugees receive shelter, or lest compensation, for the hearth which,

through no fault of their own, they had to leave behind. Bring Nagorno-Karabakh, at last, out of a condition that, to your shame and mine, can be called a blockade, and in peacetime at that! Let us not forget that laboring people have been taken away from their work, for one reason or another, and gradually are losing their sense of reality and personal dignity. This is a unforgivable sin that falls, first and foremost, on the pastors.

Together with you, the commission will do everything necessary in order to continue seeking and finding optimal solutions for the Karabakh problem without the slightest delay. We express gratitude to both sides which, despite the acuteness of the situation have created all necessary conditions for the commission to engage in an objective evaluation of the situation. In this connection, the commission requests that both sides refrain from interference in its work during the period of elaborating recommendations. We also request that the mass information media, the radio and television stations of Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan, and Armenia refrain from mutual accusations.

An inhabitant of Zaporozhiye, (Visser Bolof), reminded the deputies in his address that in the Scripture it is said that the first world was destroyed by water and that the second is preserved for fire.

We all must be especially wary of that second outcome, since there is blood beyond fire. It is our primary duty to do everything possible for there never again to be bloodshed on this long-suffering land. May wisdom and courage, tolerance and patience come to us! May the spirit of our ancestors illuminate us in the image of the dove of the promised (?willow of the world).

State Enterprise Law Approved

LD0308113489 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

USSR Supreme Soviet deputies are finding that the logic of perestroika demands continuous updating and revising work. This was the case with the law on state enterprise, which came into effect early last year. It proved to have serious shortcomings which began to hinder the implementation of the economic reform. The USSR Council of Ministers today submitted for the consideration of the supreme soviet a draft law on amendments to it.

Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took the floor to substantiate the draft law. He clarified that in drafting the document the government sought to ensure that work collectives of state enterprises be granted the right to choose management forms themselves without getting agreement from higher

economic bodies. Enterprises are also accorded the opportunity to act on the securities market, issue shares and take up special-purpose loans.

To give enterprises an opportunity of independently disposing of parts of their output, the draft law demands that state-placed orders with enterprises cover less than 100 per cent of their production program. The USSR State Planning Committee (Gosplan) and it alone has the right to define these orders.

Noting the dangerous tendencies in the financial system (3 billion roubles are stashed away on citizens' accounts at saving banks each month), Abalkin admitted that the measures to restrain the unjustified increase in wage funds at enterprises did not produce the expected results. Prior to introducing a single tax system in the country in the fourth quarter of this year and in 1990, it is proposed to apply a progressive taxation system to the growth of the labor remuneration funds. An exception will be made only for the increase in that part of the fund which is linked with consumer goods production.

According to Abalkin, the draft law provision, which enables the work collectives of state-run enterprises to freely withdraw from amalgamations, is also of importance.

At the same time work collectives may independently decide to join amalgamations, joint stock companies and associations. If the collective leases its enterprise, it may withdraw from under its ministry's authority.

The new act seals the right of all state-run enterprises to carry out foreign trade operations, to form currency funds and to independently establish relations with partners from socialist, capitalist and developing countries

A co-report on the issue under consideration was delivered by Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for Legislation, Legality and Law and Order.

He said the committee fully supports the amendments which are of a "revolutionary nature and make it possible to bring about major changes in the economic situation in the country."

He emphasised that the amendments being introduced to the law on state enterprise broaden the independence of enterprises, open the way for lease arrangements and sharply weaken departmental diktat.

The amendments, Alekseyev believes, open up prospects for the economic freedom of state-run enterprises, including that in export-import relations. This gives them an opportunity to participate in commodity-market relations and to form a socialist market.

Viktor Kisin, who spoke on behalf of the commission of the council of the union for the development of industry, the power sector, equipment and technology, also supported the submitted amendments.

At the same time he said that in order to increase the independence of enterprises it is advisable to broaden the possibilities of the work collective for establishing additional social benefits for its personnel within the limits of earned income.

The submitted amendments were discussed at the morning session. An overwhelming majority of deputies praised the amendments, referring to them as revolutionary and historic.

Deputy Nikolay Travkin, who is known for his left radical views concerning Soviet economic development, while supporting the government-suggested amendments, even admitted: "I was previously in the wrong when I used to stress the conservatism of the Council of Ministers".

At the same time the deputies agreed with the opinion of Anatoliy Miloserdnyi who regards the amendments to the law on state enterprise as a "provisional measure until basic laws on ownership, land and cooperative are elaborated".

By a majority of votes the deputies approved the draft law on introducing amendments and addenda to the Law of the USSR on State Enterprise.

'Consensus' on State Enterprise Law

LD0308175789 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

People's deputies of the USSR today displayed a rare consensus in supporting the draft law proposed by the government. This was so because the amendments to the law on state enterprise reflect the hopes of the country's work collectives, shaking off the fetters which hobbled factories and plants' economic freedom. The document was adopted virtually unanimously.

The new edition of the law grants work collectives of state enterprises the right to choose forms of management themselves, enter and withdraw from associations, act on the securities market, and issue shares. The new draft law also extends state enterprises the right to conduct foreign trade operations and form links with foreign partners.

Deputies could acquaint themselves today with the outlines of the plan for the development of the USSR's economy in 1990. Yuriy Maslyukov, head of the USSR State Planning Committee, said that the plan provides for a host of measures, including very drastic ones, to

recover the economy. For instance, it is planned to sizeably reduce state centralised capital investments in the production sphere and the import of equipment for the heavy industry.

The plan will be studied in greater detail by the autumn parliament session and it will then be put to discussion in parliamentary committees and commissions.

Deputies today filled several more posts in the new Soviet Government. Professor Nikolay Vorontsov became the first non-party member of the USSR Council of Ministers. He was confirmed to head the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation. Leonid Filimonov was appointed as oil and gas industry minister of the USSR and Vladimir Melnikov—minister of the USSR wood industry. Nikolay Rusak, 55, was endorsed as chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, and Viktor Gerashchenko—chairman of the USSR State Bank Governing Board.

The USSR Supreme Soviet expressed condolences to the family members and next of kin of those killed by the Judy typhoon which raced across the Soviet maritime territory and the Khabarovsk region. The rain inundated 109 settlements, destroyed 267 bridges, rendered inoperable over 1,300 kilometres of roads and 700 kilometres of power transmission lines, and flooded 120,000 hectares of farm crops. Eight thousand people were evacuated from dangerous zones. Preliminary reports put the number of those perished at 15. The members of the USSR Supreme Soviet approached the government with the request to give effective aid to the local bodies of the maritime territory and the Khabarovsk region in dealing with the consequences of the natural disaster.

Tomorrow is the final day of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Abalkin Reports on State Enterprises

LD0308082389 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

According to the schedule, today is the last but one day of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The agenda for today includes the discussion and the adoption of amendments to the law on the state enterprise, the endorsement of candidates to vacant posts in the government and the discussion of the guidelines of the national economic development plan for 1990. Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made a report on the first item of the agenda.

Many deputies attach special importance to the discussion of the last item of the agenda, because the government is going to put forward proposals on the improvement of the country's finances, which seems to be the most serious problem facing the USSR.

Today's sitting is chaired by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Ryzhkov Views State Enterprise Law

LD0308204289 Moscow World Service in English
1800 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] The Soviet prime minister, Nikolay Ryzhkov, has said the amendments to the Law on State Enterprise, adopted by the Supreme Soviet on Thursday [3 August], give the newly formed government a chance to act boldly and with initiative. The amendments provide for labor staff choosing forms of economic management themselves, getting access to the securities market, putting out shares and conducting foreign trade operations on their own. A new system of taxation is being introduced by the amendments. Nikolay Ryzhkov told Radio Moscow that the new government will be aiming primarily at creating conditions for the coordinated activity of the entire economic mechanism of the country instead of trying to streamline each of its links, as was the case previously. The premier pointed out that outdated methods were of no use in trying to restructure the nation's economy.

Ryzhkov Says Consumer Goods 'Top Priority'

LD0308220489 Moscow World Service in English
2010 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Supreme Soviet of the USSR continues its session in Moscow. Here is our report: [passage omitted]

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has also completed the formation of the Soviet Government. Our reporter has asked Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov about the recent changes in the work of the government and the early result of its activities.

The Soviet prime minister said his government had involved energetic people and interesting personalities. The discussion of bills earlier today indicates that the government can profoundly analyze important issues and take quick decisions on them. For instance, the amendments to the law on state run enterprises were drawn up in several days after proposals to this effect were made by lawmakers. These and other facts show that the newly formed government had adopted a bold style to prove itself a team of progressive thinkers and efficient workers.

One of the bold proposals made by the government so far comes from Deputy Prime Minister Dr Leonid Abalkin of the National Academy of Sciences. He suggested leaving only one national economic priority and that is the production of consumer goods. Nikolay Ryzhkov made this comment:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The Soviet Prime minister says the view of Dr Abalkin is shared by the whole government.

At the present stage of the nation's development and given the present difficulties this would be the only right decision. However, this would hold only for a certain time, a sustained concentration exclusively on the consumer market could eventually hit the rest of the economy. Even so, consumer markets are the top priority today. [end recording]

Pension Law Passed

LD0308194889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a law on urgent measures for the provision of pensions and social services for the population. It envisages in particular increasing, as of 1 October this year, the minimum old-age pension to R70 a month; the first category of disablement to R85; the second category to R70. For the parents and wives of servicemen who have perished in the defense of the USSR or in carrying out other military service duties, pensions will be raised to R60. As of 1 January 1990, pensions according to age will be paid in full to pensioners who are workers or skilled workers and also to invalids who work without taking into consideration the wages they receive.

The law provides for new privileges for participants in the Great Patriotic War. The law on pensions is being published in the press.

Law on Publication of State Acts Issued

LD0308131789 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—A USSR law on a procedure for the publication and entering into force of laws and other acts adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and their bodies has been issued here.

This law has it that these documents are published not later than within seven days of their adoption. Their publication in the "Gazette of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR" and the newspaper IZVESTIYA shall be regarded as official.

The documents enter into force simultaneously throughout the Soviet Union upon the expiry of ten days after they are published in these editions. The gazette appears weekly and IZVESTIYA is published every day.

A number of the USSR's previous legislative acts concerning the procedure for the publication and entering into force of the laws, resolutions and other acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet, decrees and resolutions of its Presidium have been recognised null and void.

Declaration on Miners Adopted

*LD0308215589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Text] After a thorough discussion with representatives of miners' labor collectives, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted an extensive decision on measures to ensure the implementation of the joint decision adopted by the government commissions with the participation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the strike committees of the working people of the country's mining areas.

New Election Law Discussed

*LD0308191789 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT
3 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The Credentials Commission believes that the Law on Election of People's Deputies should be overhauled or even abolished and drafted anew, Boris Gidasppov, chairman of the Soviet parliament's Credentials Commission, told TASS commenting on the commission's meeting in the Kremlin today.

The most important thing now is not to lose time and take account of all negative facts and phenomena in election laws which are passed by republics and local governing councils.

Gidasppov said that more than 16,000 letters and telegrams had been sent to the Central Election Commission, while the Credentials Commission recently received more than 400 letters. They show that the election law, which was adopted earlier, has drawbacks which made it virtually impossible to have ideal elections. "One way or another we came across deviations from procedures," Gidasppov said.

There were many letters, complaints and written requests which disagreed with the political views and platforms of candidates to deputies during elections, Gidasppov continued. "But since they were elected in accordance with law without any deviations from it," he said, "political views are not a valid reason for withdrawing a deputy's mandate."

As for the violations of ethnics in the course of election campaigns, the commission head said, in some cases candidates themselves and especially their pressure groups misbehaved themselves. This was reflected in handouts and statements by deputies. Nevertheless, these violations did not affect the outcome of the ballot and are not enough to withdraw deputies' mandates, Gidasppov noted.

Supreme Soviet 2 Aug Proceedings Reported

Bill on Deputies Activities Debated

LD0208162989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 2 August broadcasts a recorded relay of the morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet held at the Kremlin chaired by Soviet of the Union Chairman Yevgeniy Primakov.

At 1400 GMT Petrushenko says that the session should be mediated by the Presidium.

At 1401 GMT Nishanov clarifies procedural matters

At 1402 GMT a deputy mentions other procedural matters raised concerning deputies' families.

At 1403 GMT Gayer says that deputies should be given special credentials and that deputies' expenses should be outlined.

At 1406 GMT Nishanov gives his point of view on this matter.

At 1406 GMT a deputy insists on returning to the issue of pensions.

At 1407 GMT another deputy asks about expenses in the previous Supreme Soviet. Nishanov does not know about this.

At 1408 GMT Igityan says there should be no secrets from the people.

At 1410 GMT Primakov explains the difference between deputies' income and expenses and says that deputies will have secretaries.

At 1416GMT Nishanov explains about expenses in the previous Supreme Soviet.

At 1417 GMT Yakushkin speaks about amendments to the bill on deputies' activities.

At 1418 GMT Primakov reads the relevant paragraph from the Constitution. More exchanges follow on this question.

At 1420 GMT Stepanov suggests another amendment.

At 1423 GMT Primakov makes some procedural proposals.

At 1426 GMT Shcherbak says that access to information is of paramount importance, and that communications facilities—such as personal computers and fax machines—are essential. We should know what is going on in the government; the bill should be adopted provisionally, he says.

At 1429 GMT Kozyrev states that deputies' rights should be extended, including their access to official documents.

At 1432 GMT Stadnik reads his proposals relating to the bill. Some amendments to the bill appeared out of the blue. It would be interesting to learn who their authors are; an extraordinary congress should be convened to look into these matters.

At 1440 GMT Yudin proposes measures for ensuring deputy-electorate contacts.

At 1444 GMT Smorodin makes other observations concerning the bill.

At 1447 GMT a deputy comments on specific points of the bill.

At 1450 GMT Seleznev says that deputies should be relieved of their professional duties to devote all their time to their new activities.

At 1454 GMT Sulakshin states that some deputies are more equal than others and that deputies should be trusted.

At 1459 GMT Stankevich says that today's issues are very important because they relate to the issue of power. There is a huge gap between expectations and realities; deputies are powerless and are therefore losing the trust of their electorate. He notes that the bill should be adopted on a provisional basis.

At 1506 GMT Prokushev says that deputies should give up their previous job.

At 1512 GMT Primakov states that controversial paragraphs could be removed from the bill, for the time being, and the bill could be put to a vote.

At 1516 GMT Nikolaychuk reads figures from the Ministry of Finances showing expenses connected with the upkeep of legislative and executive bodies. An extraordinary congress should be convened because the situation of deputies is dire and something should be done about it urgently, he says.

At 1524 GMT Boldyrev mentions that voting as proposed is inadmissible; the bill should be marked up in committees and only then put to a vote.

At 1526 GMT a deputy raises further procedural matters.

At 1527 GMT Obolenskiy complains about the order of the speakers. Primakov says there is no discrimination.

At 1530 GMT Primakov puts a version of the decision to a vote: to mark up the bill in commission and put to a later vote without discussion. There are 189 deputies in favor.

At 1537 GMT there is a vote on another option: the bill marked up and later discussed before vote-taking. There are 126 deputies in favor of this. The previous proposal is passed.

At 1539 a 20-minute break is called, marking the end of the morning session.

Deputies Discuss Labor Dispute Bill

LD0208195589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1541 GMT on 2 August continues its recorded relay of the 2 August sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1541 GMT the afternoon session begins with Deputy Medvedev offering proposals on procedural matters.

At 1542 GMT Nishanov says a draft bill on solving labor conflicts is on the agenda.

At 1543 GMT Shalayev speaks. He says collective labor conflicts have recently started taking the form of strikes caused by bad management and poor social conditions. Local authorities are unable to solve those difficulties. He gives the main points of the draft bill and talks about a provision to be made for participants in strikes—at the enterprises' expense. He stresses the bill's importance in defending the legitimate interests of working people.

At 1554 GMT Deputy (?Popritskiy) says from the floor that the law is unnecessary.

At 1555 GMT Shalayev replies that the law is necessary, in addition to measures enhancing independence of enterprises.

At 1556 GMT Shalayev says labor laws already in force cover the issue.

At 1557 GMT Deputy Kirilov asks about plans for trade union committees. Shalayev replies.

At 1558 GMT Deputy Dadamyan asks about strikes in Karabakh, complaining about contradictions in the planned law. Shalayev replies that the law envisaged purely labor-related disputes and that other aspects will be examined.

At 1601 GMT Deputy Zaslavskiy mentions disputes that go beyond strictly material matters, as in the recent miners' strikes. Shalayev comments that those strikes did apply mainly to social conditions—and they were dealt with. Zaslavskiy returns to his point that the miners' demands about local soviet elections could not be dealt with.

At 1606 GMT Dadamyan returns to ask about political strikes. Shalayev replies that they are not ruled out, but they must be examined in a separate law. Shalayev asserts that the draft does not rule out the possibility of strikes.

At 1609 GMT Deputy (?Shakhovtsov) asks about payment to workers on strike: Won't they end up paying in the long run? Shalayev replies that the guilty party must pay.

At 1610 GMT a Leningrad deputy asks when the bill will be put forth for nationwide discussion. Shalayev says it must be discussed in labor kolektivs.

At 1612 GMT Deputy (?Kubultinov) asks about the term "collective dispute." Shouldn't it be called "law on strikes"? Shalayev says many people say this.

At 1613 GMT another deputy asks about planned time-scales. Shalayev outlines the procedure again.

At 1615 GMT Deputy Bocharov calls for an end to the system where people can be members of the trade union administration and of the kolektiv simultaneously. He says the draft says nothing about the council of the labor kolektiv. Shalayev provides more details from the draft.

Debate on Labor Bill Continues

LD0208211889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 2 August sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1619 GMT Nishanov makes an announcement about the discussion of provisions for deputies' activities.

At 1619 GMT Deputy Kogan criticizes the bureaucratic nature of trade union committees, calls for the right of workers to form strike committees, and warns of the development of parallel trade unions if the official ones do not get their act together. Shalayev does not reply.

At 1621 GMT a woman deputy asks a question about procedural matters in the draft. Shalayev comments on the function of conciliation commissions, saying equality for both sides is important.

At 1624 GMT Deputy Mikheyev asks who will examine such issues as calls for early local elections and what part trade unions play in strikes. Shalayev says the labor arbitration body has nothing to do with local elections. The trade unions have adopted a decision on their role in disputes.

At 1626 GMT Deputy Melnikov asks about cases where dismissal notices are sent out. Shalayev repeats provisions of the draft on procedure for settling disputes.

At 1630 GMT Deputy Kirilov comes to microphone and asks about responsibility. Shalayev cites foreign procedures. Kirilov asks about the attitude to general strikes. Shalayev cites other foreign practices for dealing with such cases.

At 1633 GMT Deputy (?Savitskaya) urges inserting indications of measures to be taken if a strike is deemed illegal. Shalayev points out that it has already been done.

At 1634 GMT Nishanov invites Shalayev to sit down, and calls Deputy Kalmykov to the rostrum to talk on behalf of the legislative committee about his committee's consideration of the issue. Kalmykov says the first draft from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions was a weak one, so it was improved by defining the term "strike" and increasing the rights of strikers.

At 1644 GMT Deputy Yarin is called to the rostrum and talks about discussion of the draft by strike committees and sets out their opinions.

At 1647 GMT a deputy from the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League talks about Soviet POW's in Afghanistan and calls for complete amnesty from criminal charges for any POW's who come home.

At 1649 GMT Deputy Grib from Zaporozhye complains about delays in bringing the bill forward for discussion, and urges the country's labor kolektivs to give the government and Supreme Soviet the chance to work fruitfully by not striking. He comments on the Interregional Group; everything depends on how well the Supreme Soviet works.

At 1654 GMT Nishanov makes a few announcements, giving the time and venue of the Veterans Committee meeting. A deputy asks colleagues to stay behind. Nishanov announces a break until 1600 (1200 gmt).

Cooperatives Tax Bill Passed

LD0208205889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1658 GMT on 2 August continues its recorded relay of the 2 August sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1658 GMT the evening session opens with Primakov in the chair. He calls Deputy (?Orashanskiy) to the rostrum to discuss the strike law. The speaker praises proposals put forward by Shalayev and makes suggestions for textual amendments.

At 1702 GMT Deputy Baranov complains about delays in getting the bill discussed. He supports the idea of discussing the draft in labor kolektivs. Trade union rights must not be diluted, he says. He urges managers to come to grips with workers' demands before things go too far.

At 1709 GMT Deputy Shamikhin calls for more efficient efforts to settle industrial disputes. People must have the right to express protest in a law-governed state. He outlines his views on other aspects of the draft.

At 1714 GMT Deputy Shabanov comments on the draft, saying self-management means that workers who strike will be doing it against themselves. He says strikes and street demonstrations do not help the need for economic reforms.

At 1722 GMT Justice Minister Yakovlev comes to the rostrum. He comments on some provisions of the draft, defending the title as given. He says the concept of the illegal strike is meant to defend society against chaos. He cites legislation in the United Kingdom and the United States, saying all countries forbid political strikes.

At 1729 GMT Yakovlev says other countries have provision for sanctions against organizers of strikes. The USSR must consider what to do in the case of strikes that are declared illegal.

At 1731 GMT Deputy Matveyenko speaks, urging publication of the draft as soon as possible.

At 1732 GMT Primakov suggests a procedure for fitting in speakers.

At 1733 GMT Deputy (?Bavalenko) insists that workers' interests must be protected, and comments on the formulation of certain articles in the bill.

At 1738 GMT Deputy Samarin comes to the rostrum and identifies himself as a member of the commission that prepared the draft. He urges that the draft be adopted.

At 1744 GMT Deputy Katilevskiy calls for precise regulation of the rights of strike committees and warns that strikes make it harder to solve the country's problems. He urges all Soviet workers not to strike until the law is adopted.

At 1750 GMT Deputy Burykh urges other workers to remember the difficult conditions in which miners work. Some deputies do not know what they are talking about, he says.

At 1755 GMT Deputy Vasilets recounts the thoughts of some rural workers in his constituency. They criticize the fashion for holding meeting and rallies and they call for hard work.

At 1745 GMT Primakov closes the discussion and reads a Supreme Soviet decision that approves the draft at first reading, instructs Supreme Soviet committees to work on the draft, approves proposals to suspend strikes until the draft becomes law, and urges labor kollektivs to support the deputies' proposal. He calls for opinions on the proposed decision.

At 1800 GMT a deputy from Cheboksary warns that the decision might have the opposite effect than what is intended.

At 1803 GMT Primakov spells out the procedure to be followed and asks for other speakers. A deputy says that careful organization is called for regarding the nationwide discussion. Another deputy says that the legislation committee should be involved.

At 1805 GMT there is a brief procedural discussion between Primakov and Lukyanov. Primakov puts the draft law on industrial disputes to the vote. There are 9 votes against, 39 abstentions, and the remainder vote in favor. The law passes.

At 1808 GMT Primakov says that the next item on the agenda is a discussion of amendments to additions to the law on the enterprise. There is also the question of further personnel appointments. He lists the state committees in question that still need a leader, saying these items are for tomorrow's session.

At 1810 GMT Deputy Sergey Sergeyevich—no surname is given—objects saying Primakov is uncertain about what to do when: Shall it be left until tomorrow or not?

At 1812 GMT a deputy from Leningrad Oblast says that a senior figure should make a statement on the strikes. Primakov points out that tomorrow Abalkin and Maslyukov will be speaking. The discussion on taxation will be completed on Friday, Primakov says in reply to another comment.

At 1815 GMT Sergey Sergeyevich begins to speak about the law on taxation. He outlines the various amendments that have been submitted.

At 1823 GMT Deputy Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov talks about taxation of cooperatives' profits at a rate of 25 percent.

At 1825 GMT Sergey Sergeyevich returns to the microphone and adds some technicalities about the maximum rate of taxation and the exemption of charities.

At 1832 GMT Primakov proposes that a vote be taken on the rate of taxation. The motion is overwhelmingly carried without vote counting. The two chambers are then asked to vote on the law on taxation of cooperatives. The Soviet of Nationalities votes in favor of the law, with 5 abstentions. The Soviet of the Union passes it with 6 votes against and 2 abstentions. Primakov declares the draft law carried and declares the session closed until tomorrow.

At 1835 GMT the relay ends.

Supreme Soviet Resolution on Draft Strike Law
PM0308101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the Draft USSR Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes'"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To approve at first reading the basic provisions of the draft USSR Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes and to publish the elaborated [utochnennyy] draft in the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

To instruct the Soviet of the Union's Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions and the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, jointly with other committees and permanent commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers and with participation by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the USSR Council of Ministers, to finalize the draft in question taking into account proposals and remarks made by USSR people's deputies, and to submit it for the USSR Supreme Soviet's examination by 1 October 1989.

2. To approve the proposal of USSR People's Deputies A.V. Grib, V.A. Opolinskiy, A.I. Baranov, A.M. Shamikhin, A.I. Chabanov, S.M. Katilevskiy, Yu.Ye. Burykh, and of other deputies who are production workers on the suspension of strikes as an extreme method for resolving collective labor disputes until such time as the USSR law on the procedure for resolving such disputes is adopted and comes into force.

3. To call upon all labor collectives in the country to support the proposal by production worker deputies to strengthen labor discipline, to be more demanding of leaders of enterprises, organizations, ministries, and departments as regards the latter's responsibility, and to assist to the utmost the consolidation of Soviet society for the solution of the tasks of perestroika and the renewal of all aspects of state and social life.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, The Kremlin, 2 August 1989

Gorbachev 1 Aug Speech Comparison
PM0208114189

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 2 August 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 2 an unattributed account of M.S. Gorbachev's foreign policy speech delivered to the USSR Supreme Soviet on 1 August. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "M.S. Gorbachev's Speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet's First Session on the Results of the Visits to Britain, the FRG, and France and on Participation in the Warsaw Pact States' Political Consultative Committee Conference" with the Moscow

Domestic Service in Russian version published on pages 41-48 of the 2 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT reveals the following variations:

page 41, column one, first paragraph, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: The idea of briefing the Supreme Soviet on our latest steps in the foreign policy sphere came from deputies. It was first put forward at a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It seems to me that such statements should become not just a tradition but a mandatory rule. This is my first statement.

I do not think that I need to give some sort of a list of all the problems which were discussed during the visits to Britain, the FRG, and France. What I would like to do is take the broader view here—and these three visits offer a suitable opportunity.

First of all... (adding opening two paragraphs);

same paragraph, last sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...on this principle.

You have undoubtedly... (deleting passage);

page 42, column one, paragraph four, first sentence of the PRAVDA version: ...greater confidence in the future of Europe and of peace, greater... (rewording);

column two, third paragraph, fourth sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...in the USSR.

The same range... (deleting passage);

page 43, column one, third paragraph, last sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...relations and envisions effective, multi-leveled cooperation... (rewording);

column two, first paragraph, sixth sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...to fight about the financing of some military programs. A considerable number... (rewording);

page 44, column one, paragraph three, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: studying of important initiatives. We have to thoroughly study not only the declaration that was entrusted to us but also the Council of Europe's conventions on culture, education, ecology... (rewording);

column two, paragraph six, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads... relate to the economic and scientific-technological... (rewording);

page 45, column one, paragraph two, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...but also with our inertia, with the... (correcting typoed word "out");

paragraph three, last sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: so serious that it is necessary to arrive at some sort of conclusion: I think that this should be the topic of discussion at the USSR Supreme Soviet, and that our economic representatives and ambassadors should be heard.

I would like to... (rewording);

column two, paragraph three, third sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...of visits, their intellectual content, and the participation in them of many representatives of our intelligentsia and the agreements signed open up new possibilities for those engaged in science and the arts, literature... (rewording)

paragraph five, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...the NATO countries to be significant... (deleting passage)

page 46, column one, paragraph four, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...few contradictions remain. Nevertheless, we see... (deleting passage)

paragraph six, second sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...advance. In general, we promoted not only in the message but also in the conversations with Western figures the idea that these groups of "three," "seven," or whatever, cannot... (rewording)

same paragraph, last sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...a long time to play this role.

Speaking as a... (inserting additional passage)

column two, paragraph two, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...a peaceful time. We simply quite... (deleting sentences)

paragraph three, third sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...to be attentive: We must not let the new developments—which are already acquiring a normal and, so to say, human appearance in Europe—catch a cold. I would put... (inserting additional passage)

page 47, column one, paragraph two, seventh sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...the main thing. It was confirmed that the allied countries are united in... (rewording)

page 48, column one, first paragraph, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...of the time and the requirements... (deleting passage)

column two, first paragraph, last sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...cause of perestroika.

M.S. Gorbachev answered deputies' questions. (supplying final paragraph)

Supreme Soviet 1 Aug Proceedings Reported

PM0308140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet First Session"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session continued its work in the Kremlin 1 August under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev.

The chairman announced that the question of holding sessions of the union and autonomous republic supreme soviets and the local soviets of people's deputies was on the agenda. At the 24 July sitting, he said, we agreed to prepare recommendations on holding these sessions everywhere, planning to use them to examine and assess the situation in every region. An instruction has been given to the Committee for Questions of the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Management and Self-Management to prepare its opinions on this subject.

Deputy N.D. Pivovarov delivered a report on the committee's behalf.

The discussion of all acute problems of the social development of the territories and the soviets' role in resolving them was a stormy one, the deputy said. The soviets as the political basis of the state now need their authority to be boosted in practice.

It has been decided, he said, to hold report sessions not in a stereotyped way, as was frequently done in the past, but from bottom to top. The deputy expressed the hope that the forthcoming report sessions will serve the cause of the renewal of the full power of the soviets.

The chairman raised the question of the expediency of debates. We had a thorough talk about that before, he said. And at the time, he recalled, the tendency which had emerged from the center of shifting all responsibility for the prevailing situation onto the localities and for the localities, in a spirit of dependency, to shift the blame for everything onto the center. The Kuzbass or the talks in Leningrad showed that there are questions which must be resolved here, in the center. But legally binding acts which weaken and devalue many of the laws' provisions often appear for questions which have already been resolved.

At the same time recent events have shown very keenly that many local organs are waiting until everything is resolved. Until a new law and normatives have been elaborated and mutual relations have been defined at all levels with enterprises and through soviets' channels. They are waiting until the question of the structure of the local soviets is resolved, considering that at present they must engage more in the economy and assume responsibility on the practical plane, with regard to what the party organs are still engaged in on an operational basis. They are waiting for a wage increase.

These are all vital and correct questions. Without resolving them it is difficult to count on the soviets starting to work vigorously. They need a legal basis, a structure adequate for their new tasks. We must think about enlisting strong cadres to the soviets and think about the level of remuneration of this apparatus. Frankly, the best people do not go into the soviets given such a wage level. All these problems must be resolved.

But even now it is possible to enumerate dozens of oblasts which in the past 2-3 years have launched an enormous amount of work in previously neglected rayons, have put forward their programs within the framework of perestroika, have linked them to the specific situation, and already obtained substantial advances. Let's take a region like the Russian Chernozem. And in Voronezh things were very bad—look how things are developing there now. Tambov—there, too, things are improving. In Lipetsk the situation is improving in the social and food sectors. There are other similar examples.

Take Ryazan. How much has been written about the neglect in this oblast. Now articles are appearing which speak of serious changes here. That means that even in the present situation it is possible to resolve questions. Therefore the theme of setting the center and the localities against each other must be transformed into the theme of their cooperation, and on an enterprising basis. The workers have reminded everyone that it is necessary to think and act more resolutely both centrally and locally. In the spirit of the situation the party committees have now been asked to hold plenums, to discuss their work, and to ascertain why the link has been broken between party organs and party cadres and workers' collectives. And why do the soviets and trade unions not do the same? After all they have their own specific duties and questions which must be resolved.

Our society is now faced with many important programs. For instance, the erection of housing has been increased 15 percent and sociocultural and consumer services are growing. But matters have now come to a standstill in capital construction. Commissionings of projects have slowed down. The people feel all this and all these programs are on specific territories. Is that not a topic for discussion?

That is why I think we will be correctly understood: The Supreme Soviet proceeds from a sense of responsibility and perceives the mood of the working people displayed in an acute form in recent days. Hence the recommendations to take a look at everything, to take everything in hand at extraordinary session and to waste no time. When there will be further elections, when there will be another law—all that is being worked on. But we must act even now. Surely there are opportunities for working and resolving these questions now? There are! They may be limited and inadequate, but we must act on their basis.

I think that the draft in fact stems from such an approach. And that is not simply a manifestation of respect for the local organs, it is also a guideline for their work. It merely emphasizes that the Supreme Soviet understands that without the activity of the local organs, without an increase in their role, nothing will be successful in perestroika in our country. This act emphasizes the role of the local organs.

And where questions are particularly acute and people believe that different cadres are needed for the better work of the soviets, that is their business, their province. I believe that this is a responsible reaction on the part of the Supreme Soviet to the discussion which we have had on this subject.

With a consideration for the opinion of the majority of deputies, it was decided not to open debates on this question.

By a simultaneous vote of the chambers the session adopted the resolution on this question.

The session embarked on an examination of the USSR draft law "on urgent measures to improve pension provisions and social services for the population."

V.S. Pavlov, USSR minister of finances, delivered a report.

Executing the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet session, he said, the government has submitted for examination a draft law on urgent measures to improve pension provisions and social services for the population. The draft, the speaker continued, provides for an increase to R70 in the minimum old age pensions for workers, employees, and collective farm members.

This measure affects 8.5 million collective farm members and 9.5 million workers. As a whole the increase thus affects 18 million people and is estimated at R4.1 billion.

It is planned to increase minimum invalidity pensions of the first and second groups. This measure affects 2.2 million people and is estimated at R370 million.

It is planned, the speaker continued, to increase pensions for the loss of a breadwinner and for parents and wives of dead servicemen. The draft provides for an increase in the minimum old age pensions and pensions for war invalids. It is also planned to pay old age pensions to pensioners working as workers and foremen and full invalidity pensions without consideration for the wages (income) received. The draft includes a number of benefits for socioconsumer services for war and labor veterans and the families of dead servicemen. It also provides for an increase in grants for invalids from childhood.

As a whole the implementation of all the above measures affects approximately 30 million people and it will be necessary to earmark R6.6 billion a year for these purposes. It is planned to implement the majority of measures from 1 October 1989.

N.V. Bosenko, chairman of the Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids, delivered the coreport on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions. He expressed thanks to the USSR Council of Ministers for finding the opportunity to prepare this law earlier than planned and to seek the necessary funds for it.

The speaker suggested that the USSR Supreme Soviet appeal to the local soviets and labor collectives to use their own potential to improve the position of badly off citizens.

Then the debates began.

The Committee for the Affairs of Women and Family, Mother, and Child Protection, Deputy V.I. Matviyenko reported, supports the draft law. At the same time we cannot agree with the article which provides for an increase of only R10 in grants for invalids from childhood.

Deputy T.I. Gorinov spoke on behalf of the Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids. He called the draft law under examination a document of exceptionally great sociopolitical importance in particular because it eliminates differences in the material provision in old age for collective farm members, workers, and employees.

The suggestion of the Committee for Youth Affairs, Deputy V.I. Tsybukh said, is that the draft law under examination be wholly supported. Its questions are close to young people because many young people receive pensions.

In the opinion of Deputy L.A. Arutyunyan, it is not local steps but serious targeted programs which are needed for a fundamental improvement in the position of the population of the "third age." The state is not the only source of funds for implementing such programs. We must organize and pool the efforts and potential of other sources—enterprises, which must be concerned for their former workers, public and philanthropic organizations, and the church.

Deputy N.V. Ivanov stressed that the law under discussion must include addenda which take into account the interests of those who worked during the Leningrad blockade and gave their strength and health to the frontline city in the days of harsh ordeals.

Then V.S. Pavlov answered deputies' questions.

The deputies decided that the draft law on this question, taking into account the proposals and remarks voiced, should be discussed at the evening sitting.

The chairman reported that a group of deputies considers it essential to make some amendments to the USSR Law on the State Enterprise, expanding the economic independence of labor collectives. He suggested instructing L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the relevant committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet to prepare amendments.

The Supreme Soviet heard a report from R.A. Medvedev, chairman of the deputies' commission for verifying materials connected with the activity of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group headed by T.Kh. Gdlyan. In connection with numerous requests from people's deputies and citizens, he noted, we consider it essential to give notification that the commission is hearing the people involved and representatives of the public and is studying numerous documents. It will report its conclusions to the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, reported at the sitting on the results of the state visits to Britain, the FRG, and France, and his participation in the conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee.

Then he answered deputies' questions. A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, took the floor.

The speaker emphasized that the overall results of the talks with a number of state leaders have advanced the all-European process to a new qualitative level.

The speaker suggested that the deputies adopt an appeal to U.S. Congress on questions of a moratorium on nuclear explosions and the ending of nuclear tests.

At the evening sitting the deputies decreed to take into consideration M.S. Gorbachev's report and to approve the results of the state visits of the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman to Britain, the FRG, and France, and his participation in the conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee.

The session turned to a discussion of the draft appeal from the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress. Deputies N.S. Petrushchenko, Ye.P. Velikhov, and others who took part in the discussion, stressed the importance and topicality of this document and expressed the hope of a positive response from the U.S. side.

The Supreme Soviet voted to adopt the text of the appeal.

Then the examination of the USSR draft law "On Urgent Measures To Improve Pension Provisions and Social Services for the Population" was continued.

USSR Minister of Finances V.S. Pavlov, V.I. Shcherbakov, chairman of the State Committee for Labor and Social Questions, and Deputy N.N. Gritsenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, gave explanations.

Deputies P.V. Shchetko, A.I. Golyakov, B.N. Nikolskiy, L.I. Sukhov, and others took part in the discussion of the draft.

Summing up the results of the discussion, M.S. Gorbachev said: Before making a decision I think we must on behalf of the Supreme Soviet tell our comrade Afghans who have spoken here that the way they ask the question is correct. They have fulfilled their duty and they have done honestly everything assigned them by the state and the country. There is nothing to discuss here. So this question is already clear.

Today it is a case of what Comrade P.V. Shchetko has written here—we in the Supreme Soviet must assess everything which has taken place and sum up the result. That is the other aspect of the matter and I think that clarity should also be introduced here.

Now let's return to the law. We all agree that we are adopting a law. The questions which cannot one way or another be put off for long must be examined by the government and the committees in completing their study. Answers to these questions must be found during subsequent work and submitted by 1 October. On this score we are all agreed, although study will indeed be needed.

There remains only one question—that of extending to the Afghan servicemen what we apply to the veterans of the Great Patriotic War, particularly on questions of medical supplies and travel. I think that because of the acuteness and specific nature of the problem we will help our government seek an opportunity to include new sources in its solution.

N.I. Ryzhkov was on the platform. The problems which are being discussed, he said, exist, and they must be resolved. We have been fulfilling with great difficulty the instruction of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet session to formulate the priority measures to increase pensions and to find sources of finance accordingly. I must say that these sources affect the vital activity of our enterprises. You say, we will have to increase insurance rates differentially, but by no more than 30 percent, to find the necessary R5 billion. Some R1 billion comes by doubling the payment for manpower resources for apparatus workers. All the problems which have been raised here must be carefully examined in preparing the law on pensions which, according to the Supreme Soviet resolution, we must submit in October.

Of course, these are difficult problems and we will have to do a very great deal of work together because we must not only pass these laws but immediately determine how and where to take the money for the next 5-year plans.

As for the Afghan servicemen specifically, I would make the following proposal: A law must nevertheless be adopted now. We must take a careful look and re-count in money the benefits which are essential to put the internationalist servicemen on an equal footing with the Great Patriotic War veterans. I would suggest instructing the government, together with the plan and budget for 1990, to submit these ideas so that the question can be resolved as of 1 January.

But I would also make another request. We all have a great desire to help people. But we should always discuss with the same enthusiasm the second part in which we say where to take the money from. I think that social justice is expressed precisely in the fact that someone must share with someone in a specific instance.

Voice from the floor: We veterans of the war in Afghanistan agree with that.

M.S. Gorbachev: So in principle there are no differences. There is the question of deadlines in order to enable the government to find the funds.

The draft law was put to the vote. Considering the proposals and additions voiced during the discussion, the law was adopted by a separate vote of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The sitting ended.

The session will continue its work 2 August.

Comparison of Appeal to U.S. Congress PM0208103589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 2 August 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 1 the "Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress on Questions of a Moratorium on Nuclear Explosions and the Ending of Nuclear Tests." Comparison of the PRAVDA item with the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version published on pages 55 and 56 of the 2 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT reveals the following variations:

page 55, column two, first paragraph of the PRAVDA item reads: The USSR Supreme... (omitting first paragraph);

page 56, column one, final paragraph, first sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...on all nuclear explosions which could be... (substituting "explosions" for "tests");

final paragraph, second sentence of the PRAVDA version reads: ...Moscow or Washington.

[Signed] USSR Supreme Soviet.... (supplying signature).

Lukyanov on Role, Work of Supreme Soviet
LD2307205189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Interview with Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by station correspondent Igor Zorin; date and place of interview not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Zorin] I often conduct live reports on All-Union radio on sittings of a Supreme Soviet session, and, if I may say so, have seen how you have relaxed your severity in your position as chairman when the sitting is underway.

[Lukyanov] I think that conducting the sitting is a very difficult thing. First, on the one hand you have to listen attentively to what the deputies are saying, both the representatives of the majority and those of the minority, because truth comes out of argument. You have to act so that every side has the chance to express itself as fully as possible, and to hear every one. So the chairman has quite a difficult position. On the one hand he is hemmed in by strict regulations, and on the other hand he would like every deputy to express their viewpoint, because behind them they have people; behind them they have their constituency; behind them they have the concerns of the population; behind them they have great knowledge of the specific situation and difficulties. For that reason your severity is only in the sense of the regulations, in the sense that you would like to help each deputy put across what they have to say. It seems to me that this is the most important thing in my work now and in the future. I am basically a calm person, I mean well, and I very much want to help the deputies to reveal all their huge potential; all the more so since many of them passed through arguments with other candidates, through a very difficult struggle to become an elected deputy, and here they are so keen and dynamic. This dynamism must not be allowed to die.

[Zorin] Anatoliy Ivanovich, seeing how the sessions go, that you are here from morning till late at night, I really am amazed at how you have enough energy for it; Don't you need a staff of consultants? After all, a single vice president can't do it all himself.

[Lukyanov] It's a very heavy and difficult business, but it is interesting and a business worthy of a person. As for a staff of consultants, we are only now setting up, setting up all over again a staff for a standing parliament. Some 500 people are working, along with the technical personnel, to serve the deputies. Of course this is very few. We shall expand this circle and step up the work of the Institute of Soviet Legislation which has just been handed over to the Supreme Soviet. We may have to create some sort of subunits to study the national question, which has become a very acute one. Perhaps we shall have to create some sort of economic service. That's

to say, we shall move forward, but not all at once. I myself am learning along with the deputies. I am learning democracy, I am learning choice in political decisions, and in work on the laws. It is very hard for me to evaluate my work as being positive. I have a critical attitude to it.

[Zorin] Anatoliy Ivanovich, during a recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, questions were asked fairly often about whether events should be broadcast on television, on the radio, or published in the press. Are we not creating a conflict-free atmosphere in the session by making some cuts in the recordings on television? Please, have a go at criticizing yourself.

[Lukyanov] I would like to say first of all that when the decision was made to relay the congress in full, this matter was decided right from the start. This was, of course, at a cost. Rather a large number of people listened to the congress during their work time, failed to turn up for work, and we even experienced a certain economic loss. For this reason, on the decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and then of the Supreme Soviet itself, the broadcasts were moved to the evening.

As far as cuts are concerned, there are very few of them. They are, chiefly, those speeches that are related to clashes between the deputies themselves, in particular on inter-ethnic issues. Each such speech, often emotional, could cause an outburst in the regions. This in no way violates glasnost because we attempt to broadcast everything, and to broadcast everything in a committed manner. However, the deputies themselves believe that often this kind of polemical ardour is subsequently reflected in society and is not always a good idea. We take as our basis both the ethical aspect and, above all, the national republics and will produce a response in relations between nationalities.

New Justice Minister Yakovlev Defines Positions
18001361 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 13 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with V.F. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice, by S. Artyukov: "The Goal—A Rule-of-Law State"]

[Text] *The USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed as director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet State Construction the USSR minister of justice, V.F. Yakovlev. Our correspondent obtained an interview from him.*

[Artyukhov] Veniamin Fedorovich, first of all let us congratulate you on your new appointment. Quite recently you participated actively in the preparation and the work of the founding congress of a new social organization—the USSR Union of Jurists. It turns out that you created a kind of competitor for yourself in this organization.

[Yakovlev] The Ministry of Justice is still a management organ; and the union is a social organization. The whole problem was that we had plenty of state government organizations of jurists, but there were practically no social formations on a voluntary, individual, professional basis. And although I do not rule out the formation of more specialized unions such as a Union of Advocates, a Union of Notaries, and perhaps even a Union of Investigators, I think the greatest social value will be derived from a union of all jurists. Jurists need an association on a free basis, for none of us can work alone, each of us performs certain functions and we work for a common cause together.

It has become clear to everyone—to ordinary citizens and certainly to lawyers—that it is impossible to have normal functioning of a society in which the bureaucrat or the apparatus rules instead of the law. A rule-of-law state is not management by commands from above but by norms of behavior that are mandatory for everyone and are adopted democratically. The law must place the rank-and-file member of society, the management worker, and the state itself in an equal position. Obviously, realizing this idea will require immense efforts on the part of both the society itself and the professional jurists.

The position of jurists in many countries shows the great significance this profession has. And in a civilized world we have enough "rare birds." This is why it is so necessary to join jurists together and raise their professional level. Their participation in legislative work should become deeper and broader. We are absolutely not satisfied by the quality of today's laws, many of which were adopted without the participation of jurists. We must arrange a system of justice, a system of legal service, legal protection of the population, and the rights of the individual in general.

Let us take justice for an example. Who carries it out? We are told: the court. But the court is only the core of justice. One must also have, on the one hand, investigation and accusation, and, on the other, defense. Moreover, in no case can we allow the advocates, investigators, legal consultants, and judges to be enclosed within the framework of narrow departmental interests. When each begins to fight only for the honor of his uniform it is fatal for the society. There must be constant improvement of our legal science. The Union of Jurists could become the collective reason that generates this science.

[Artyukhov] In connection with the course toward democratization of the legal system in our country, what is your attitude toward the possibilities of selecting a jury?

[Yakovlev] As world practice has shown, the jury is a fairly useful institution, but certainly not in all cases. The scope of application of such a form of justice is significantly limited. If when conducting the judicial reform we feel that we need it, I see no obstacles to introducing it. I am quite

ready to admit that for a certain category of cases the jury would be the most effective form for us. Mainly as a factor that provides for independence of justice.

But one must keep in mind that a jury is a nonprofessional court. In France they even call it a "street court." Here one can see a contradiction between democracy and the need for a professional approach to resolving legal issues. Therefore I think that first of all we should make better use of what we do have, that is reveal the potential of the court which has a professional judge who knows his job well and in cooperation with respected, honest, and independent people's assessors, comes to a fair and legal decision.

Imagine what would happen if we were to form a jury and its members were not prepared to resolve complicated legal collisions. Incidentally, the history of the jury in Russia gives us sad examples in which these juries have imposed unfair sentences with the ignorance of the broad masses being to blame.

[Artyukhov] How do you regard the idea of expanding legal assistance to the population even today? For instance, protecting the consumer when he is sold a bad product or the rights of the worker in an administrative conflict....

[Yakovlev] I feel highly positive about this. It is necessary to expand the network of courts and give the population the opportunity to take advantage of legal aid more extensively. But, of course, many problems will have to be overcome: personnel, organizational, financial. The last is especially important because we are not very rich today. But practice shows that "cheap" justice ends up in a lack of protection for the citizen.

[Artyukhov] But still, Veniamin Fedorovich, in the future will there be no conflicts between the ministry of which you are in charge and the Union of Jurists?

[Yakovlev] You know, if conflicts do arise, I think it will be only because of our common business immaturity and ingrained stereotypes. Now both the Ministry of Justice and the Union of Jurists will work, each organization with its specific features, but we are asking the question in good time: Who will have priority? We have become accustomed always to having someone "on top." And we have not become accustomed to pluralism and equal relations and actions that mutually augment one another.

But essentially we are dealing with an ally. Our ministry can and should rely on the authority and support of such a social organization as the Union of Jurists. On the other hand, the union can take advantage of the ministry's capabilities as well.

TV Committee Chairman Nenashev Interviewed
LD1307223189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] At today's morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the deputies, by a majority of votes, appointed Mikhail Fedorovich Nenashev to the post of chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. Afterwards he gave an interview to my colleague Vera Shchelkunova.

[Begin recording] [Shchelkunova] Esteemed Mikhail Fedorovich, glasnost depends to a great extent on the committee and the position of its chairman. In your program speech at the session you said that you will combat conservatism. What did you have in mind, because that point was not deciphered?

[Nenashev] First I want to say that I fully share the view that television and radio are all things which determine glasnost, since I am absolutely convinced that without radio and television there can be no glasnost, nor any democracy. My standpoint stems from this.

As for conservatism, it is because conservatism is certainly alive and all-powerful as an obstacle that the forms in which it is manifested are most diverse, ranging from the rationing of information and direct censorship bans. I do not like this. The reason I sometimes dislike this is that I have the right as a leader to allow something or to ban it. This, if you like, is the most extreme manifestation of conservatism. But there are other forms of this conservatism too, when, although a program in itself is perhaps very progressive, it is presented with such a form and quality that its effect is extremely small. Therefore I think that conservatism has features and a manifestation whereby many of our programs are simply standing still, and presented for effect or show, without sometimes reflecting reality. As for the question of whether glasnost is controlled, and whether control is possible, whether involvement is possible and whether in general a rationing of it is possible, if such a term...

[Shchelkunova interrupts] If such a term is possible, you mean?

[Nenashev] Yes, such a term. I think that such is possible, and maybe it is essential. Let us reason not methodologically and theoretically, but practically. At the present time we have an extremely complex situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, where as a result of history, and not good history, it has come about that two nations—the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians—living in a single republic find themselves in a complex situation. Each piece of information we receive from there requires an intelligent rationing or, if you like, correlation in its quantity, not to mention its content. It demands an understanding of the essence of the problem and its complexity, and the equal participation of this or that nation. Such rationing of information is necessary,

more so since sometimes the information may be harmful. How then can information be harmful? Well, supposing the information is provocative, I think that in this case it should be determined by those who stand at the microphone—you, us, myself and all those who are connected with this and are professionally engaged with this. We are obliged to understand whether it is fair or unfair, truthful or false. After all, even the determination of whether something is false or truthful is also a rationing of information.

[Shchelkunova] Mikhail Fedorovich, you worked at SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA during difficult years, and not everything depends on the position of the journalist.

[Nenashev] If you like, a comprehension of the problems of radio and television is for me, at the present time, above all connected with the need for highly literate and highly qualified journalism. There is an insufficient amount of this at present in radio and television. I declared here [at the Supreme Soviet session] that I intend to be an editor and to participate in this process. Therefore I see my own understanding of an editor as that of a real editor who will argue frankly when he is opposed to this or that program, and take part in this process. If I lose the argument, I will back the position of the author. I see myself as an editor as a person who respects the views of others but defends his own. Sorry, but that is the way shown me by practice. That is to say, I will certainly come out in opposition to this or that program, since I do not believe that everything is ideal with us, and you know yourself that not everything is ideal with us. However, I consider that this should be done not by way of administrative measures but through the creative process, with equal participation—the participation of partners, if you like—of the chief and the author.

[Shchelkunova] But what if above you there will be not simply an editor, but indeed the center? What if such a phenomenon appears even in our day and age?

[Nenashev] I think that in that event I would defend my own position—the position in which I believe. If I am wrong I will agree, but if I am right and am reflecting real processes, I will defend the position of our authors and the position of radio and television. In this respect I will go all the way. [end recording]

Sakharov Discusses People's Deputies Congress
LD0308131289 Moscow World Service in English
0316 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] In an interview with the Moscow-based weekly OGONEK, Dr Andrey Sakharov has expressed his views on the political situation in this country and the work of the first Congress of People's Deputies, to which he was elected. He makes these points:

The congress proved to be a very important event. It did much to politicalize society. People got very interested in politics; they felt they were no longer cogs in a wheel and they showed they wanted to do something for the nation.

Another thing that greatly stimulated this interest was the television broadcast direct from the congress hall. It became clear to the public there were people in the hall who could make realistic and compelling alternative proposals. In addition, the congress revealed the truly tragic situation in all parts of the country. We came to understand ourselves in an entirely new way. That I believe is the main significance of the congress.

In a speech towards the end, I said that I believed the congress had not done its main work—it had not put all power in the hands of the soviets. Perhaps it could not because of its composition, but it's good that at least it set the goal. The key issue is power; without power no one can solve the problems facing the nation, neither economic nor social nor any others. Unless the soviets are given power, the ministries will continue to dictate. It will be impossible for enterprises to be truly free and self-governing. It will be impossible to put through a land reform and in general pursue an agrarian policy different from the senseless policy of trying to inject life into collective farms that work at a loss (?or) are even going to pieces. Economic problems must be handled by the soviets at all levels, and for this the soviets must be independent. The Congress of People's Deputies also failed to solve the unusually acute ethnic problem. From Stalinism we inherited a system with an imperial ideology and policy. This system oppressed not only the small republics and small ethnic territories but the big ones too, and especially the Russian. The Russian nation was one of its principle victims.

The weekly asked Dr Sakharov if he had any specific proposals that would help solve the nationalities problem: I suggest a confederation. All the republics, both the main ones and the autonomous republics, and also the autonomous regions and ethnic territories should be given equal rights within their present frontiers. All should be given the maximum independence. Their sovereignty should be limited only by matters of joint defense, foreign policy, transportation, communications, and perhaps something else. In everything else they must be totally independent and on this basis form a confederation.

Dr Sakharov was asked whether he had felt differently about war and peace when he was working on the H-bomb: I took a very active part in developing a thermonuclear weapon along with a large group of enterprising people. I felt this was necessary for world balance. All of us believed this was the only way to prevent a third world war. Since then my views have evolved, of course, but I believe that at that time in the situation of that time, my position was justified. The fact that the Soviet Union, United States, and other nuclear powers had the H-bomb was what kept the world from sliding into another world war. There is no knowing what turn events would have taken if there hadn't been the threat of mutual extermination. Such a peace is unsuitable of course. Peace can't be preserved on such a basis indefinitely. What is needed now is a gradual and very cautious transition to a total ban on nuclear weapons.

Dr Sakharov has also asked if the Soviet Union now had legislation that ensured there would never again be a one man dictatorship: Well, there are no legal guarantees. But there is one very important factor. Gorbachev himself initiated perestroika 4 years ago. We must always remember what he has done for the nation. This is a political, psychological, and historical factor. We can't dismiss it. We must act in such a way as to make it easier for Gorbachev to progress with restructuring and to rule out any move to the right.

[This is] what Dr Sakharov said in an interview with the Moscow-based weekly OGONEK.

Stenographic Record of Congress Planned

18001308 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No 26, 1-7 Jul 89 p 8

[Question from reader I. Gruzikov, Moscow, and answer by Yu.A. Koroleva, chief of the division for printing and publishing legislative acts of the secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] *Are there plans to put out a collection of the materials of the 1st Congress of People's Deputies? Whose speeches will be included in it? Will there not be a repetition of the story of the recent publication of the stenographic report of the 19th Party Conference where the number of copies can by no means meet the reader demand?*

By a decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a stenographic report of the 1st USSR Congress of People's Deputies will be published. It will include all the speeches made at the congress and also the texts of speeches submitted to the congress by those people's deputies who did not have the opportunity to speak from the podium because discussions of the given issue had been called to an end.

The stenographic report will be published within a time period determined by the capabilities of the printing department.

The publication will have many volumes since the material of the stenographic report can fill 200 printer's sheets. It can be assumed that the publication will come out in 1989.

The number of copies of the stenographic report of the 1st Congress of People's Deputies will be determined by order submitted by Mezhsyuzkniga. The Izvestiya publishing house will handle the publication.

Frankly, I doubt that we shall be able to fully satisfy the reader interest in this publication. One thing is for sure: All libraries in our country will have a sufficient number of copies and many people who wish to will be able to acquire it for themselves.

Central Committee Resolution on Meetings Viewed
LD0308105789 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT
3 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The need of ensuring freedom of discussing on an alternative basis in party organizations of problems pertaining to party work, of democratizing internal party life is pointed out in the decision of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee "On Reports and Elections Meetings in Party Organisations in 1989."

Reports of bureaus of party committees of all levels will be discussed this year at plenums and meetings, starting from central committees of the communist parties of union republics and ending with primary organisations. The composition of elected bodies will be renewed and urgent personnel problems will be solved. Non-party people will take part in the meetings.

The reports and elections, the decision stresses, are of particular importance in the political situation now prevailing in the country. The party's work is being conducted in conditions when the socio-economic situation is deteriorating and the moods of the people are changing. There is a real danger that the party's leading role in perestroika might diminish. An acute need has appeared of effecting deep-going changes in the CPSU's work and in its leading organs. The forthcoming reports and elections are called upon to play an important role in the progress of reforming the party's activities, in its renovation.

The decision gives special attention to questions of ensuring full sovereignty to the soviets. Party organs, the document says, must secure decisions in organs of people's power by means of recommendations and democratic agreement. It is necessary to aim the Communists at active participation in the forthcoming elections to the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics, to local soviets of people's deputies, to ensure a responsible attitude of all party organisations to the implementation of the second stage of the political reform.

Further Reported on Central Committee Resolution
LD0308131189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution on holding report-back and election meetings in party organizations in 1989. In accordance with the CPSU charter, in 1989 report-back and election meetings should be held in party groups, primary and shop-floor party organizations of fewer than 15 party members. It should also be considered expedient, taking into consideration the recommendations of the 19th all-union party conference, in the same period to discuss the report-back of the bureaus of rayon committees, city committees, district committees, oblast committees, and kray committees of the party, the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, on their

activity at the plenums of the relevant committees, and those of the party committees and party bureaus at meetings of primary and shop-floor party organizations. If need be, for this purpose the appropriate party conference may be held.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo considers it expedient that the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, kray committees, and oblast committees of the party should examine the proposals of the district committees, city committees, and rayon committees of the party, and should establish the times and sequence of holding meetings, plenums, and conferences depending on the specific situation on the spot.

The forthcoming report-back and election meetings in the context of the current political situation in the country are of special significance. Society is essentially going through a critical period of perestroika. The CPSU's activity is proceeding in conditions of an exacerbated situation in the socio-economic sphere and in the people's mood. The party has come under fire of criticism owing to many party committees' and organizations' lagging behind the processes taking place in society. A real threat has appeared of a slackening of the CPSU's leading role in perestroika. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo considers that there is an acute need for profound changes in the activity of the CPSU and its leading bodies. It is necessary not only to rethink the functions and place of the party in the political system, but also to work out and master new methods of work which will give the CPSU its needed qualities of the political vanguard of society.

The forthcoming report-back and election meetings are designed to play an important role in the process of reformation of party activity and in the renewal of the forms and methods of the work of its organizations and committees. It is from this viewpoint that talks need to be conducted at the meetings, plenums, and conferences. Insight should be gained into the reasons for the decline, in a number of regions, of the authority of the elected bodies and communist party officials. Attention should be concentrated on the practical solution of the problems which are being discussed everywhere at assemblies and meetings, in workers' collectives, and which are the basis for just criticism of party organizations. The participation of nonparty members in party meetings should be considered expedient.

The report-back and election meetings should be held in an atmosphere of broad public glasnost and comradely discussion. There should be a thorough analysis according to party principle, of the work of performing the tasks of perestroika. It is necessary to ensure at the meetings, plenums, and conferences an active, frank, and fearless exchange of opinion, freedom of discussion, on an alternative basis, of the problems of party work at the present

stage, and realization of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference on democratization of the internal life of the party, with party organizations being called upon to display an example of democratization.

The renewal of the party requires that each party organization, on the basis of the common talks, and guided by the charter provision on its autonomy in the resolution of local issues, should have its own program of perestroika answering the specific conditions of the labor collective, or region. Thorough discussions on these questions should serve the consolidation of Communists on a principled, socialist foundation, the strengthening of conscientious party discipline, and should ensure unity of action in fulfillment of the adopted decisions.

The passive, ideologically vacuous position of certain party members and party officials, cases of their compromising the party, of switching to nationalistic positions and of closing ranks with various kinds of antisocialist movements, should be subjected to careful scrutiny. A resolute rebuff should be given to demagoguery and hare-brained schemes.

In drafting resolutions, maximum account should be taken of public opinion and the proposals and remarks of the population. It is important to discuss the restructuring of party work from a position of affirming political methods of leadership, delimitating the functions of party, local soviet, and economic bodies, and on this basis implementing the tasks of economic and social development, and deepening dialogue with public organizations and spontaneous movements.

The question of the establishment and affirmation of the plenipotentiary power of the local soviets deserves special attention, bearing in mind that the party bodies are obliged to pass political decisions in the bodies of people's power by means of persuasion, recommendation, and democratic consensus, through Communists working in the local soviets and their executive bodies. Communists should be channeled into the most active participation in the forthcoming elections to the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and to the local soviets of people's deputies. A responsible attitude on the part of all party organizations and their leading bodies in implementing the second stage of the political reform should be ensured.

At meetings and plenums a principled assessment should be made of the work of Communists connected with ensuring the improvement of the life of the population. Specific responsibility should be defined for solving questions of stepping up housing construction, increasing the production of food and consumer goods, and organizing trade, and consumer and medical services for the working people.

Plenums, meetings, and conferences should channel party organizations and the public into the quest for their own reserves in the republics, oblasts, cities, rayons, and labor collectives. At meetings, plenums, and conferences they should implement the necessary renewal of the composition of the electoral bodies, having put forward for leadership exceptional, creative thinking, and enterprising people, and resolve cadre questions that have come to a head. Communists who enjoy authority and influence among the working people and who are capable of taking public initiative into their own hands and of directing it into a constructive channel should be broadly and boldly attracted into party work. It is necessary for candidates and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, the central committees of the union republics, the kray committees, oblast committees, okrug committees, city committees, and rayon committees of the party and of the relevant auditing and control and auditing commissions, Communists and USSR people's deputies to take an active part in the work of meetings, plenums, and conferences.

Party meetings, plenums, and conferences should become real laboratories of active, creative political thinking in connection with the groundwork for the 28th CPSU Congress. The central committees of the union republics, the kray and oblast party committees should inform the CPSU Central Committee about Communists' comments and proposals regarding changes to the program and rules of the CPSU. The commissions and departments of the CPSU Central Committee should take into account the results of the discussion of their practical work in preparing relevant materials for the congress as well.

Komsomol Official Defended Against Ouster Demands
PM0308155189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 5

[Abbreviated version of debate speech by V. Matiynko, first secretary of the Irkutsk All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Oblast Committee, at the 29 July Eighth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum under the general heading "Eighth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Comrades! Recently I have heard various conversations between certain colleagues in corridors and behind the scenes wondering whether it is time we replaced Mironenko. I've thought about this myself.

Let's be frank. For all his shortcomings Viktor Mironenko is today a real leader, a leader in the most complex situation in which the Komsomol finds itself. I personally by no means envy him. Our left-wing comrades are constantly demanding that he keep pushing ahead, while our right-wing comrades want him to stop and go no further. It should probably be said that, apart from Zyukin and Ordzhonikidze—and Smirnov who has

just recently arrived—I can see no real assistants or warriors for him in the Secretariat. Probably the fact that the party Central Committee building is alongside exerts substantial influence, too.

In short, things are not easy by any means. And I would like to hope that the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee will defend more persistently and in more fundamental fashion our jointly elaborated positions, and implement them consistently and boldly, relying on the members of the Komsomol Central Committee and first secretaries. I want you to know, Viktor, that in any situation when you are defending the interests of young people and our organization, you will definitely find mutual understanding from most Central Committee members and have our support.

Trade Union Presidium Weighs Strike Situation
18280163 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 1

[Article from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions press center: "In the Presidium of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions"]

[Excerpt] The main question on the agenda of the 28 July meeting of the Presidium of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] was an examination of the critical dispute situation which took shape in July in enterprises of the coal industry and some other industries of the national economy. The reasons for the strikes were considered in detail, and the actions of the trade union organizations under these extreme conditions were analyzed.

It was noted at the meeting that gross violations of the legal interests of the workers by the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and local management organs, the display of indifference to their needs, and the deprivation of the economic and legal independence of enterprises, mines, and open pits, were the objective preconditions for a spontaneous expression by the workers of a protest in the form of strikes. The most critical problems that were vitally important to the workers were not resolved for a long time by the administrations of enterprises and higher soviet and economic organs.

Many trade union organs did not adopt positions of principle, did not strive for the timely examination of issues that troubled the workers for a long time, and resigned themselves to sluggishness and serious omissions in the resolution of socio-economic, ecological, and other problems. Also playing their role were weak organizational and educational work in the labor collectives and inadequate glasnost about the progress and results of the examination of worker proposals.

As is known, the trade unions supported the just demands of the strikers. When labor conflicts flared up and the mines stopped, many trade union workers and activists joined the staffs of the strike committees and even headed them; they helped formulate packages of

demands, maintained public order and the viability of the mines, and they organized the provision of food. Leaders of the AUCCTU, the central committees of the trade unions of workers of the coal industry, and other industrial unions of the Ukrainian, Donetsk, and Kemerovo sovprofs [councils of trade unions] were in the hot spots of the Kuzbass [Kuznetsk coalfields] and the Donbass [Donets coalfields] together with the strikers to defend their legal rights and interests in these troubled days.

However, it was emphasized at the meeting of the Presidium of the AUCCTU that there were quite a few cases when the trade union committees lost their heads in the unusual situation, they were unable to take the initiative into their own hands, and they did not try to master the situation. Instead of leading the struggle of the workers for their rights and legal interests, these trade unions and their leaders were on the sidelines, and as a result they lost authority and trust in their collectives. As a rule, this occurred where the trade unions got used to neglect in the social sphere, and where they did not learn to utilize their own capabilities persistently to prompt the economic managers to examine and resolve urgent problems in a timely way.

Along with this, it was noted at the meeting that the passive position of the trade unions in situations when the threat of a collective labor conflict arises is in many ways determined by the fact that our country does not have a legal act that would regulate the actions of disputing parties.

The stoppage of the work of enterprises caused great financial damage not only to the labor collectives, but also to the economy of the country as a whole, and it created additional difficulties in the resolution of economic and social tasks and in the implementation of the revolutionary perestroika that is taking place in our society.

Recognizing the criticality of the situation that has developed and the responsibility of the trade unions for the state of affairs, the Presidium of the AUCCTU required that all trade union organs conduct urgent work in the timely examination and satisfaction of the legal demands of the workers and thereby avert collective labor conflicts. It is necessary to give a principled evaluation of each fact of gross violation of the labor laws by economic managers and to utilize more decisively its right to express the distrust of and demand for the removal of officials in accordance with Article 20 of the Principles of the Labor Law of the Union of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Union Republics.

Pending the adoption of the USSR Law "Concerning Procedures for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes," in the event of a refusal by an administration to satisfy the announced demands, the trade union committees of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, will take on themselves the initiative for the immediate creation of a

conciliation commission made up of representatives of the trade union committee, the council of labor collectives, and the administration. No later than in a week's time, this commission must give thorough consideration, with the participation of the workers, to their demands on the administration in the matter of fulfilling labor law and the agreements of the collective contract, and reaching a decision on the collective labor dispute.

In the event of a refusal of the administration to satisfy the legal demands of the labor collective or the fulfillment of a decision of the conciliation commission, the trade union committee of an enterprise, institution, and organization must immediately demand an examination of a collective dispute that has arisen by the central committee of the trade union, together with the industrial ministry and the appropriate management, soviet, state, and trade union organs.

The central committees and councils of trade unions are to support the demands of the trade union committees of enterprises, institutions, and organizations in collective labor disputes and secure their timely and effective review by ministries, departments, and organizations of economic management in order to prevent work stoppage.

In the event that there is a threat that a strike will emerge as an extreme protest of a labor collective against an unjustified delay in examining the demands of the labor collective, or a refusal by the administration to fulfill an achieved understanding, when all measures to resolve the dispute situation have been exhausted, the leaders of the trade union committees are obliged to be on the side of the workers and to be at the head of their struggle for their legal rights and interests. In doing this, the trade union organs, supported by broad public opinion, must avert a work stoppage in enterprises and institutions associated with providing the living needs of the population.

The Presidium of the AUCCTU has recommended that the central committees and the councils of trade unions take into account the demands arising during strikes for a renewal of the staffs of a number of trade union organs, and the replacement of trade union workers who have not earned the trust of trade union members. There should be a full utilization of the right of recall from trade union organs of persons who compromised themselves and who displayed passivity in the matter of protecting the workers. The reelection of trade union organs at rallies, gatherings, and other meetings not provided for in trade union regulations will not be allowed. This work will be conducted at report and election trade union meetings and conferences on a democratic basis. [passage omitted]

Vorotnikov Answers Questions on Russian Republic
PM0308142989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, answers deputies' questions: "We Will Conduct the Preparations Openly"]

[Text] I fully go along with the proposal of Deputies Piryazeva and Nepobedimyy that we must develop a

concept for transferring to economic accountability and also a concept for enhancing the sovereignty of our state and creating a whole series of political, administrative, economic, and other structures which we lack. I must inform you that we have been working in this direction for many months now. Perhaps the deputies are right and it is just that this work has not been carried out openly enough—that is, not everyone has been informed on the measures being taken. The Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), Sverdlovsk Oblast, and the city of Moscow are among the first it is planned to transfer to regional economic accountability.

But this work is extremely difficult for Russia and for all the 73 regions incorporated in it and requires the adoption of a whole series of laws and a multitude of economic measures to make it possible to transfer enterprises and organizations to economic accountability—particularly those which produce raw materials, exist on subsidies, and which, like the Kuzbass miners for example, cannot transfer to economic accountability. Especially if they do not have even elementary economic autonomy.

Consequently, I think it would be right if we were to here formulate proposals for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet Presidium, and also addressed to local and directive bodies. We must speed up this important work and conduct it in such a way as to ensure that one region after another and eventually the whole republic transfers to economic accountability.

Now on to the questions concerned with the sovereign rights of the Russian Federation. We have submitted the relevant proposals on this matter to the USSR Government and the party's Central Committee. Questions concerning economic independence and political rights will also be discussed by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Whether we will be able to draft them and submit them to the next session or not will all depend on how the restructuring processes proceed as a whole. A great deal depends in this respect on how economic problems and questions of prices are resolved....

The task is difficult and complex and should not be oversimplified. But I would like to assure and inform you so that you know what is happening: The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government are carrying out this work and will definitely consult with you on how to proceed further. This also applies to the laws on amending the RSFSR Constitution and on elections to our Supreme Soviet. We will certainly submit them at the next session and meanwhile will publish the drafts for nationwide discussion.

A lot of questions are arising in connection with the elections to local soviets. Their powers expire in our republic in December. Elections cannot be held before this term is up. We simply do not have the constitutional

time. Consequently, wherever local soviets are working badly, wherever leaders are failing to respond to the tasks set by restructuring, and wherever replacements are required, go ahead with this work by all means. But do not withdraw your trust in the soviet as a whole, because a whole soviet can only be stripped of its powers before term on an individual basis, by presenting each deputy with specific demands and releasing him from his duties for failing to meet requirements. For this, there would have to be a majority vote by the electorate to recall their deputy. And if such need should arise, every local soviet is entitled to take the appropriate decisions in accordance with the legal procedure.

I think that these and other questions should perhaps be reflected in our present resolution as an instruction, despite the fact that it is not directly concerned with them, but they certainly cannot be avoided and must be discussed and resolved.

These are the explanations I wanted to briefly give you. I think you will agree with them and with the idea that they be included in the decision we will submit on the results of our session.

Minister Comments on Autonomy for Volga Germans
AU2907161989 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Jul 89 p 1

["oll" report: "Khristoradnov: Autonomy for Ethnic German Russians Will Come"]

[Text] Moscow, 28 July—Soviet Minister for Religious Affairs Khristoradnov has announced that there are no longer any basic obstacles to the establishment of an autonomous republic for ethnic German Russians at the Volga. In a talk with Bishop Kruse, chairman of the Evangelical Church Council in Germany, and the chairman of the Central Committee of the Ecumenical Church Council, Held, Khristoradnov said that the granting of autonomy to the Germans in the Soviet Union is now only a matter of time. He said that the most important precondition for this is support for such a measure by the population, which is not yet available to the necessary extent. Khristoradnov once more stressed the importance of the relations that have been cultivated for years among the Evangelical Church in Germany, the Ecumenical Church Council, and the Russian Orthodox Church.

Work of Commission on Soviet Germans Examined
LD0308025889 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov:

To restore historic justice towards the two-million German population of the USSR is the main task of a special parliamentary commission dealing with the problems of

Soviet Germans. Heinrich Grout, a secretary of the commission and chairman of the all-union organisation of Soviet Germans, told TASS.

The commission, set up by the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies at the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has 13 members representing various nationalities (German, Russian, Yakut, Kazakh and Tatar) coming from the main regions populated by Soviet Germans.

Over two weeks that have passed since the formation of the commission, Grout said, the deputies studied a considerable amount of materials on the problem and outlined guidelines for their activity. They intend to continue studying the documents. There are also plans to organize a meeting between the people's deputies and the leadership of "Revival", the all-union organisation of Soviet Germans, and representatives of regional societies from Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Siberia, Altay and other regions, where most of the Soviet Germans live.

The next stage in the work of the commission, Grout stressed, is a trip by deputies to the Volga region where they will meet party leaders, top managers and residents of the regions which made up the German Volga Autonomous Republic, abolished in 1941, sound out public opinion and attitude to the project of restoring the republic.

According to Grout, the commission will be able to complete its work in the shortest period of time and prepare a draft decree on restoring the statehood of Soviet Germans by the second congress of people's deputies due to be held this autumn.

Interethnic 'Conflicts' Noted in Baltic Republics
PM1407125189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by N. Mikhaleva, doctor of legal sciences, professor at the All-Union Correspondence Legal Institute, and Sh. Papidze, candidate of philosophical sciences, rector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism: "Federal Union. Looking Ahead to the Upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Soviet people are bound to be worried by the recent intolerance, friction, and even conflicts on interethnic grounds and the fueling of contradictions of this kind in the Baltic republics. At the Congress of USSR People's Deputies many deputies expressed concern at the failure to solve the ethnic problems that accumulated over the long years of rule by administrative edict and anxiety for the future of our federation.

In the Baltic republics of late the motifs of national isolation and revision of the fundamental principles of Soviet federalism have become increasingly insistent

and the idea of replacing union principles with confederative principles has been put forward. This demands runs through the declarations on sovereignty and the constitutional amendments recently adopted in all the Baltic republics. A confederation is not a union state, but an interstate union in which the members are absolutely autonomous, have an independent system of organs and legislation, possess the right to sanction and nullify, that is, revoke union organs' acts, and have independent citizenship, their own currencies, and national armies. Formations of this kind, as history shows, are temporary, on the path either toward the creation of a federation or toward division. But since we have a federation already, it is a quest for ways of separation.

The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet declaration "On the State Sovereignty of Lithuania," adopted 18 May, says: "In the future the USSR's relations with other states (meaning union republics—authors) will be established only on the basis of interstate treaties." The same idea was expressed in a roundtable debate on interethnic relations in Riga 8-9 February.

What treaty do they mean? Maybe the 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR? No, they mean a completely new act which, the originators of the idea intend, will form the basis of mutual relations between the USSR and the republics. But to conclude such a treaty it would be necessary to annul the existing union and tackle the question of its composition and the principles of the unification of the republics all over again. We believe that there are no economic, social, or legal grounds for revising the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR. The Treaty was signed in 1922 by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR, and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, which comprised Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. The entire subsequent development of the federation took place by means of the addition of republics on the basis of the union constitution's provisions on the open character of the Soviet federation. Therefore the demands to reconclude the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR are legally without foundation.

There have been overtly nationalist appeals to break off ties with the USSR in statements by some leaders of the Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and Lithuania's "Sajudis." Speakers from the people's fronts and the movement "for national independence" are appealing to people at rallies to struggle for the Baltic republics' complete independence, meaning their separation from the USSR. For instance, the Latvian People's Front Duma recently approved an appeal by its board proposing that the front members discuss the advisability of starting a struggle for Latvian political and economic independence, that is, the achievement of sovereignty outside USSR statehood. The Statutes of the Latvian National Independence Movement envisage restoring the independent democratic state and creating a parliamentary democracy on the basis of the principles of the

1922 Constitution of the Latvian Republic. The aforementioned Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Declaration "On the State Sovereignty of Lithuania" has a similar refrain. The Estonian People's Front Declaration "On National Self-Determination" states that "Estonian statehood can only develop in the direction of restoring the legal continuity of statehood, which was disrupted in 1940," in other words, a bourgeois republic.

The appeals by the people's front leaders for a struggle by the Baltic republics for political and economic independence and the incorporation of these demands in constitutional legislation are bound to give rise to anxiety for the future of our federation and could result in the destabilization of the political situation and exacerbation of the already tense interethnic relations.

In assessing these appeals, it should be pointed out that all people's movements and public groups must have internal and external limits. If these limits are exceeded it could lead to havoc.

At the same time, one might logically conclude that if the Soviet Constitution grants a union republic the right to freely secede from the USSR, then probably it can demand a review of the nature of the links. The country's special law on the federation must, in our view, stipulate that the decision to raise the question requires the obligatory approval, by referendum, of the population of the particular republic. A mechanism should be devised for compensating the union budget for expenditure on the development of the republic and state subsidies, the dismantling by the union or redemption by the republic of enterprises under union jurisdiction, and option [optatsiya] matters, that is, the resettling of large groups of citizens, and so forth.

The republics are sovereign republics insofar as their rights are not limited by the union constitution. They enjoy all the rights they have not transferred to union power. Only the USSR has complete, unlimited sovereignty. The new union constitution should list all the union's prerogatives. The authority of union power must relate to the settlement of fundamentally important socioeconomic problems, defense, the military industry, the credit and money system, taxes, post and telegraph, and a number of other national economic sectors which require strictly centralized direction. The union must have the material base of state sovereignty.

The union constitution must clearly demarcate union and republican powers. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has elaborated proposals to solve this question and, when they have been approved by the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations, they will be discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet. We can and must consolidate the efforts of all union republics and other national state formations in the matter of restructuring interethnic relations within the framework of the Soviet federation and on a humane and democratic basis.

The desire for autarky, isolation, and replacement of federal principles by confederative principles can also be discerned in the Baltic republics' negation of the principle of unity of legislative regulation and priority, that is, the primacy of the union law. This position was presented most clearly for the first time in the Estonian SSR Law "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Estonian SSR" and in the declaration by the republic's Supreme Soviet on the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR, adopted 16 November 1988, which proclaimed the primacy of republican law in respect of acts by the union authorities. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in its 26 November 1988 decree, explained that the action of a USSR law cannot be suspended or limited by a union republic and does not need any confirmation on the part of its supreme organs. This portion of the Estonian SSR's acts was deemed invalid by the union authorities. But despite that, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet 18 May declaration "On the State Sovereignty of Lithuania" said that "in Lithuania only laws adopted or ratified by its Supreme Soviet are valid." The Lithuanian SSR 18 May Law "On Making Amendments to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Lithuanian SSR" laid down in Article 70 that "the only valid laws in the republic are those adopted by its Supreme Soviet or by means of a referendum. The laws of the USSR and legal acts of USSR organs of state power and management operate on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR only after they have been confirmed by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and registered in the proper way. Their action can be limited or suspended by a Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution."

Thus the Lithuanian legislators patently ignored the 26 November 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree relating to a similar act by the Estonian SSR. Once again a confrontation arises between the union and a republic. Yet on the basis of the essence of the existing USSR Constitution the supremacy of the union law is indisputable.

However, the USSR Constitution should perhaps make provision for a parliamentary mechanism for coordinating and resolving contradictions between the union and the republics on questions of the exercise of their competence, and also in the process of discussion of a draft law or resolution of any other issue within the framework of the highest organ of state power.

It seems expedient to establish the right of a union republic to appeal to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee in the event that it perceives an infringement of its rights in a union law or other normative act. A union republic Council of Ministers, say, should have the right to suspend the operation on its territory of normative acts of USSR ministries and departments in the event of their being in conflict with the republic's interests and rights, until such time as the dispute is resolved at the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

The republics' desire for greater economic autonomy and regional economic accountability is only natural. The idea is reflected in the draft "General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of the Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing," approved by a resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 13 March. This document, like the existing USSR Constitution, enshrining the economic autonomy of the union republic, stresses that its economy is a part of the integrated national economic complex. This principle is totally ignored by the Estonian SSR Law of 18 May this year, "Fundamentals of Economic Accountability of the Estonian SSR," and the Lithuanian SSR Law of 18 May this year "On the Fundamentals of Economic Autonomy of the Lithuanian SSR," where there is no hint of coordinating the economic development of the Baltic republics with the union plan and budget. Deputies from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, speaking at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, stressed that the Baltic republics do not seek economic and political autarky, and that in the conditions of the present-day economy and established economic links, this is nonsense. But why is an entirely different position expressed in their republics' legislation? What is this but disrespect for the union constitution, the rule of law, and order?

Now that all countries of the world, even those representing different social systems, have recognized the need for economic integration and a quest for new forms of economic and political cooperation, the Baltic republics' isolationist claims look bizarre, to say the least. And the idea of introducing a national currency into republican circulation seems utterly absurd.

We are in favor of the all-around expansion of the rights of union and autonomous republics in the sphere of economic management. But the expansion of the union republics' economic rights should not infringe the sovereign rights of the federation. It is the union that should take upon itself the formulation of scientific principles for the formation of a comprehensive and flexible economic management system, the analysis of the effects of the new economic management system on the development of the socioeconomic processes taking place in the country's economy, and the implementation of measures to ensure the creation of a reliably operating economic management mechanism.

The idea of dividing people living in a region into the indigenous people and inhabitants belonging to all the other nationalities is creeping into a number of documents adopted in the Baltic republics. The declaration of the joint plenum of the boards of the Latvian SSR creative unions describes the non-Latvian population as "denationalized groups of people." The Estonian People's Front program proclaims that the republic should act as the defender of the Estonian nation's interests. But who will defend the interests of other peoples living on its territory?

The tasks of restructuring must be resolved from the standpoint of consolidation of all the peoples living in our country. The national idea belittles itself if it is asserted at the expense of the national dignity of others. Any discrimination between citizens on the principle of nationality is contrary to the USSR Constitution, the USSR Law on USSR Citizenship of 1 December 1978, and all international pacts—the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which the USSR has adhered, and the final declaration of the Vienna conference—and to the idea of a rule-of-law state.

In recent years republican language laws have prompted extensive debates at rallies. Of course, it is indisputably the right of a particular republic to decide the question of the status of the state language. But it is permissible to ask: Why did all the Baltic republics not include in their language laws a norm on the Russian language as the means of interethnic communication? Of course, all the deformations along the path of bilingualism must be removed. The question of languages seems to be settled very well in the Georgian SSR Constitution. Here is Article 75 of the Constitution: "The state language of the Georgian SSR is Georgian."

"The Georgian SSR exercises state concern for the all-around development of the Georgian language and ensures its use in state and public bodies, institutions of culture and enlightenment, and others."

"In the Georgian SSR the free use of Russian and other languages used by the population in those bodies is guaranteed. No privileges or restrictions are permitted in the use of particular languages."

The question is resolved in a similar way in the draft Uzbek SSR Law on the State Language, which has been published for discussion. The coordination of the interests of different language groups will help to resolve interethnic problems.

Instances of Russophobia cannot be overlooked. Anti-perestroika forces speculate on anti-Russian sentiments. In the Baltic region this is promoted by the programs of the people's fronts, in which the national element is highlighted in contradistinction to the international, while departmental monopolism is identified with... Russian diktat. There are similar sentiments in other regions of the country. The Russian people do not have and do not demand any privileges. It is they, together with the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples, who shoulder the main burden of the formation of the union budget. In many social indicators the Russian Federation holds one of the lowest places in comparison with other union republics. Perhaps these questions are due for resolution, and each union republic should contribute a fairer share to the formation of the union budget.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations will undoubtedly lead to major changes in union and republican legislation and the regulation of

the relationship between the USSR and the union republics. It is the task of social scientists and lawyers to form a correct idea of Soviet federalism in the public mind, to protect our common socialist values and the unity of peoples, and to preserve society's spiritual, moral, and international potential. Our peoples' friendship cannot be handed over to nationalism and chauvinism.

Red Army Liberation of Lithuania Defended

*PM1307090789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 12 Jul 89 First Edition p 4*

[Article by Colonel F. Sverdlov, doctor of historical sciences: "The Ancient Tower Remembers. Vilnius Was Liberated From Fascist Occupation 13 July 1944"]

[Excerpts] A monument to twice Hero of the Soviet Union, Army General I.D. Chernyakhovskiy, stands in the park outside the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee building. It is an expression of Vilnius citizens' gratitude to the bright memory of the military leader, and through him to all the soldiers of the Third Belorussian Front who liberated this land 45 years ago.

Recently, however, in different places and at times even right next to the Chernyakhovskiy Monument there have been people carrying posters which describe the Red (Soviet) Army as nothing but an army of occupation. The question automatically arises: Could it be that the long history of sufferings of Lithuania and its capital has simply failed to teach these people to tell the difference between an occupier and a liberator...?

Vilnius and the region around it, Lithuanian lands from time immemorial, have moved from the hands of one lover of easy gains to those of another on many occasions. They were in the possession of bourgeois Poland from 1920 until 1939. At the start of World War II Vilnius was already threatened by fascist Germany, which had occupied Poland. This threat was averted by the Red Army's entry into the Vilnius area.

Some people hasten to offer a literal interpretation of this fact. What was this, they say, if not aggression by the Soviet Union? In my view, the Soviet forces' entry into Lithuania ought to be viewed in the context of complex world developments in 1939-1940, which were dominated by the growing threat of fascist aggression in the Baltic region. And it was at that time that the Red Army put a block on this aggression. How can anyone talk about occupation, seeing that less than a month after the Red Army entered Lithuania under the 10 October 1939 treaty, Vilnius was returned to Lithuania and became its capital...

The darkness of fascist occupation descended on Lithuania's capital, lasting for 3 long years from 24 June 1941 until 13 July 1944 and accompanied by mass executions and atrocities against the civilian population... [passage omitted]

Enemy units in the city center were destroyed on 12 July, and the red flag flew atop Gediminas Tower, the symbol of Vilnius. The Hitlerites' attempts to break out of encirclement in solid infantry columns preceded by tanks and guns were repulsed by the Soviet forces' massed artillery fire. Threatened with annihilation, the remaining enemy garrison capitulated 13 July. More than 5,000 Hitlerites were captured.

Hundreds of soldiers were awarded USSR orders and medals for the heroism and courage displayed in street fighting. Major I. Yaborov, Lieutenant P. Vernidub, and Senior Lieutenant I. Sizintsev were awarded the lofty title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

A high price was paid for victory. Soviet soldiers of different nationalities, including soldiers from the 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division, gave their lives to liberate Lithuania and its capital. The rejoicing with which the inhabitants welcomed the Red Army was something to be seen. After all, it did bring to the Lithuanian people liberty and deliverance from germanization or extermination. Suffice it to say that 500,000 civilians and 200,000 prisoners of war died in Lithuania at the fascists' hands during the 3 years of occupation.

Unfortunately, as I mentioned earlier, some people now prove to have a rather short historical memory. Exaggerating the fact of the 1939 Soviet-German accord on the demarcation of spheres of interests which specifically affected the Baltic region, some "champions" of historical truth from informal associations adopt the stance of the bourgeois nationalists who used to declare that the Red Army was not invited into Lithuania either in 1940 or in 1944. So, they would say, it had nobody but itself to blame for its losses.

There can be no argument that not everything in the USSR's prewar foreign policy conformed with the norms of lofty socialist morality: The Stalin personality cult did its job. But there are no grounds at all for raising doubts about the sanctity of the sacrifices made by the multinational Soviet Army for the sake of Lithuania's liberation. I think that the flowers laid in the last few days at the monuments to the liberator soldiers offer the best possible proof of the feelings of the republic's inhabitants toward those to whom they owe their freedom and independence.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 1 Aug
NC0308084489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0340 GMT 3 Aug 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium held a meeting on 1 August to examine the preparations made for the forthcoming regular 10th convocation of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting also discussed an appeal by the Shaumyan city and rayon people's deputies soviet for the inclusion of Azerbaijan SSR within the framework of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. [sentence as heard]

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium rejected the appeal of the Shaumyan city and rayon people's deputies soviet on the grounds that the necessary political, socioeconomic, and other reasons for a change in the administrative borders in that part of the republic do not exist.

Elmira Kafarova, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, summed up the debate on the matter.

Azerbaijani Leader Outlines Demands in Interview
PM0308071489 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian
31 Jul 89 pp 53, 55, 57

[Interview with Zardhust Alizadekh, Azerbaijani People's Front Coordination Center member, by Telesio Malaspina; date and place not given; first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] Illegal, heterogenous in composition, on a collision course with Moscow and the bureaucrats in power in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, implacably opposed to any Armenian territorial claims to the Karabakh, with a detailed and ambitious program, founded less than 1 year ago in Baku, the capital: The Azerbaijani People's Front is the strongest of the new movements undermining the old rules of the political game in the rich Transcaucasian Muslim Republic. We discussed the subject with 45-year old Zardhust Alizadekh [as published], an orientalist and expert on contemporary Egyptian literature at the Baku Academy of Sciences. He was the founder of the People's Front and is a member of the front's coordination center.

[Malaspina] Your movement is illegal....

[Alizadekh] In March we presented the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Azerbaijan with a request for legalization, signed by 20,000 people. We have had no reply.

[Malaspina] How do you operate?

[Alizadekh] We have support groups in the factories, in the university, in the cities, and in the villages of 19 oblasts in the republic.

[Malaspina] Is power in Azerbaijan in the hands of the conservatives?

[Alizadekh] It is in the hands of incompetents. With Gorbachev's permission.

[Malaspina] Are you anticommunist?

[Alizadekh] Of the 45 members of the initiative group, 10 have links with the Communist Party. I have been a member for 21 years.

[Malaspina] What are your objectives?

[Alizadekh] Democracy in the economy, in politics, and in relations with the other republics.

[Malaspina] Let us start with the economy.

[Alizadekh] The first point is the Republic of Azerbaijan's complete sovereignty over all its natural resources and over industrial enterprises: At present 94 percent of them fall under Moscow's authority. Second, trade among the various republics in the Union, and between the republics and the center, must follow international market prices. They are now robbing us of our wealth, most of Azerbaijan's national product is compulsorily removed and paid for at ridiculous prices: 26 rubles for a tonne of oil (as against \$120 on the international market). Third, we are calling for the creation of areas open to free trade with foreign countries.

[Malaspina] Until the ruble is convertible, such demands seem incompatible with Azerbaijan remaining in the Soviet Union.

[Alizadekh] Our republic has abundant energy sources, a manpower surplus, and excellent scientific potential. Without the mediation of the central bureaucratic apparatus, we would already be capable of freely exporting to the international market. However, if the problem of the ruble's convertibility is not solved, Azerbaijan will have to adopt its own republican currency.

[Malaspina] This amounts to a request to secede from the USSR.

[Alizadekh] No. We would like to act in accordance with the principles of our Constitution.

[Malaspina] No such thing is enshrined in the Soviet Constitution.

[Alizadekh] It does not state that the various ministries can plunder the republics' wealth.

[Malaspina] Are your demands in the political sphere equally radical?

[Alizadekh] We want an independent foreign policy, representation at the United Nations and in all international organizations, the right to establish autonomous diplomatic relations with the neighboring countries of the Islamic world.

[Malaspina] Iran and Turkey.

[Alizadekh] Yes, and more generally with all the Arab countries.

[Malaspina] Do you feel close to the Islamic fundamentalists?

[Alizadekh] Of the 45 members of our initiative group, only 3 are practicing Muslims.

[Malaspina] What side did you take in the conflict in Afghanistan?

[Alizadekh] We predicted and hoped for the Soviet Union's defeat.

[Malaspina] Let us turn to the conflict with neighboring Armenia....

[Alizadekh] For one thing we demand the Republic of Azerbaijan's right to break off relations with any other Soviet republic. We regard the Armenian state's current positions as hostile to our republic.

[Malaspina] How can you put forward such demands and deny that you want to secede from the USSR?

[Alizadekh] Natural integration processes are taking place throughout the world.

[Malaspina] You talk of Armenia as an enemy state....

[Alizadekh] The West thinks of our republics as a merely formal matter not as sovereign entities. It must realize that Armenia's interference and its territorial claims on the Karabakh violate not only the USSR's Constitution but international law.

[Malaspina] The majority of the population of the Karabakh is Armenian.

[Alizadekh] So what? Are you Italians willing to give Austria the Upper Adige because the majority of the population is German-speaking?

[Malaspina] Do you mean that you are at war with Armenia?

[Alizadekh] In the USSR, the army is the central government's province.

[Malaspina] Do you also want your own army?

[Alizadekh] No. We want disarmament. We are not demanding other people's land. We want happiness for all peoples. But Armenia must abandon its territorial claims and establish normal relations with the Republic of Azerbaijan. But for this to be possible it must guarantee to respect the human rights of the 160,000 Azerbaijanis hounded out of Armenia and robbed of all their property.

[Malaspina] As many Armenians have been hounded out of Azerbaijan and robbed of everything. In the February pogrom in Sumgait, 33 Armenians were killed.

[Alizadekh] Yes, and the world is talking only about them, forgetting the 59 Azerbaijanis massacred in Armenia, and disregarding the fact that the forced exodus started in February 1988. Until then 200,000 people of our nationality lived normal lives in Armenia and 650,000 now live in Georgia....

[Malaspina] There is also serious tension with the Georgians, especially in Marneuli and Bolnisi, where 3 people were killed and around 30 injured in armed clashes in early July....

[Alizadekh] I am about to go to Georgia with a delegation of 17 members of the People's Front to try to stop the conflicts.

[Malaspina] Do you not have any relations with the movements in Armenia which, like you, are calling for more democracy?

[Alizadekh] We have proposed to the leaders of the Karabakh Committee that we should cooperate to solve the conflict.

[Malaspina] So, your nationalism takes precedence over the common demand for full democracy.

[Alizadekh] No, no, ours is not nationalism. Nor is the conflict with Armenia a national conflict. It is a social conflict which the government is trying to disguise.

[Malaspina] Are you saying that the ethnic and national conflicts are deliberately instigated by Moscow?

[Alizadekh] The bureaucratic authorities have every reason to stir them up.

[Malaspina] But the ethnic conflicts are splitting the Soviet Union, breaking the empire into pieces.

[Alizadekh] Gorbachev must recognize that this situation of permanent national conflicts is now taking the form of a system. It would be better for the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani peoples to unite in the struggle against bureaucracy. I think this would also be better for Gorbachev.

Rumors on Nagorno-Karabakh Decision Refuted
NC2907101789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0340 GMT 29 Jul 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A report published in the newspaper under the rubric "Rumors and the Truth" says that leaflets posted in the entrance of a number of buildings housing state offices in Baku claim that a decision has been already adopted on the question of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. In view of this, the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on the NKAO problem is a mere formality.

According to information given to an AZERINFORM correspondent by official (?establishments) and by the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on the NKAO, these rumors are being circulated with malicious intent. As has been reported in the newspapers, the materials which have been collected by the commission will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet by 1 October.

Meanwhile, as stipulated by the constitution, none of the NKAO'S problems can be debated without the participation of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

Nagorno-Karabakh Newspaper To Be Published
NC1007062389 Yerevan Domestic Service
in Armenian 1600 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH newspaper, the central organ of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], which is published in Stepanakert, has a wide following and a large number of subscribers in our republic as well. However, due to the difficulties with [word indistinct], the paper reaches its readers with considerable delay. Therefore, it has been decided to publish the number of newspaper issues sold in the republic in Yerevan itself. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee publications department has already undertaken to publish the NKAO's central organ. Nearly 45,000 copies will be issued in Yerevan and they will reach the readers the following day.

Transcaucasus Muslims Hold Congress 25 Jul
PM3107091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Congress of Transcaucasus Muslims"]

[Text] Baku, 25 Jul—A congress of Transcaucasus Muslims was held in the Azerbaijani capital today. Representatives of the region's religious communities noted that the deepening processes of the democratization of Soviet society have given believers new opportunities for satisfying their spiritual needs and performing religious rites. Mosques in several regions of Azerbaijan have opened after being restored with funds from parishioners.

Our gratitude as religious people and equal citizens of the Soviet state cannot be of an abstract nature, the delegates said. It is naturally growing into a civic sense of responsibility for everything taking place in the country and for the country's future. We see our duty to the fatherland in promoting through prayer and deeds the beneficial renewal of Soviet society and the success of perestroyka.

USSR People's Deputy Sheykh-ul-Islam Allakhshukiyur Pasha-zade was reelected chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the Transcaucasus.

The congress adopted an appeal to all believers of the Soviet Union, urging them to promote the rallying of society through their joint efforts.

Rumors Exacerbate Ethnic Tensions in Georgia
PM1407130189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Jun 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] On 23 June a fight took place in Marneuli City between a taxi driver and his somewhat inebriated passengers, a fight which was joined by people from nearby houses. As a result, 4 people were injured. They received medical attention. Criminal proceedings were instituted in connection with this incident and an investigation is now under way.

On Saturday, 24 June several thousand inhabitants gathered in the city center and demanded that all the circumstances of the incident be carefully investigated and the culprits punished. A number of socioeconomic questions were also raised. City and rayon leaders gave explanations at the rally. A meeting with representatives of the public was also held at the Marneulskiy Party Rayon Committee [raykom]. There were no violations of public order.

On Sunday evening after all kinds of rumors began to circulate claiming that large groups of people were on the march toward Marneuli from the direction of Tbilisi, several thousand people came out onto the city's streets. Some inhabitants of nearby Bolnisskiy Rayon villages were intending to join them. However, thanks to the measures that were adopted and the explanatory work that was carried out, people soon dispersed. Public order is being maintained by militia forces and the internal troops.

Unfortunately, in Bolnisi where unfounded rumors were also circulating it proved impossible to avert a clash between certain groups of people of Georgian and Azerbaijani nationality, as a result of which several people on both sides required medical attention. Militia reinforcements have been brought in. Republic law enforcement organ leaders are on the spot. They have the situation under control. Toward dawn it began gradually to return to normal.

To clarify the causes of the exacerbation of the situation in the area and also to maintain proper order and the observance of the rule of law, a government commission under the chairmanship of O. Kvilitaya has been set up. Law enforcement organs are conducting an investigation. Maintenance of public order is assured exclusively by the forces of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD].

Aware of the concern of the republic population at these happenings, the government commission will gratefully accept and examine all proposals which are conducive to the normalization of the situation. The Georgian MVD

for its part will do all it can to ensure the provision of the public with reliable and prompt information about the measures that are being adopted and the actual situation. We hope that this information will prevent the spread of all kind of rumors and fabrications which, very regrettably, have already appeared, and which, as is known, do not benefit the cause. The multinational population of Marneulskiy, Bolnisskiy, and Dmanisskiy rayons must display awareness and restraint and remain calm. We address the same request to all the inhabitants of our republic.

Makeyevka Plenum Discusses Miner Strike
LD2907222989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1830 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In Makeyevka today a plenum of the city party committee was held. Our correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurav reports:

[Kondaurav] The conversation at the plenum was just as sharp as it was on the squares during the miners strike. Vladimir Romanovich Zhukov, the first secretary of the city party committee, said that over the 10 days decisions were passed on things that had not been tackled for decades. The Communists have given their support for miners' demands. At the plenum, it was also said that very much has already been done to meet their demands. Well, above all, the miners are already receiving additional wages for evening and night shifts. Working time is now counted, as miners say, from the moment you enter the cage to go down, to the moment you enter it to go up, rather than just in terms of how long a miner stays directly at the coal face. [passage omitted]

Many miners who spoke at the plenum criticized the city party committee because a number of party workers are indifferent to real life problems and there is just no trust in them. Comrade Yevsyukov, the party organization chief of the metallurgical combine, asked why even today in the plenary decision there were so many empty and unspecific points such as to improve work and to raise the level. Would workers have adopted such a document at a rally? And immediately it was decided that jointly with the strike committee questions concerning preparations for the winter should be considered and many other city problems should be decided.

But the participants in the plenum and Makeyevka Communists were especially alarmed by the state of labor discipline at the enterprises and in particular at the mines. Many miners fail to turn up at work with no reason. And some teams finish work before the end of the shift. Over the past 24 hours in Donetsk Oblast alone the number of miners who have failed to turn up at work is equivalent to idling two mines. [passage omitted]

Leningrad TV Praised for Khrushchev Program
PM0507134589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 7

[VI. Arsenyev article: "Khrushchev, Son of Khrushchev"]

[Text] There are programs whose very title attracts attention, promising something unusual. This particular

program was called "Nikita Sergeyevich and Sergey Nikitich Recall...." It was not difficult to guess that the conversation would be about Khrushchev and therefore the complex and contradictory times in which he lived, when joys and sorrows, hopes and disappointments were closely interwoven. But, unfortunately, it was only shown on a Leningrad television channel, although, in my view, it deserved a wider audience.

The point is that this was the first time that people were acquainted with whole pages of Nikita Sergeyevich's unpublished memoirs not in secret, with the help of reliable friends who will "provide reading matter," but in public. The paradoxical nature of the situation, which is that most people know about these memoirs from the words of his son, was finally destroyed, if only partially. And even the fact that the program was on the whole made on traditional lines like, for example, L.I. Brezhnev's television memoirs in their time—a voice-over reading the memoirs, and archive pictures illustrating the text—did not detract from the impression. Nonetheless, in this program there was more logic according with the main task—to publicize the writings of the man who knows better than anyone what really happened. These memoirs were complemented by the stories of Khrushchev junior, recorded by television at his meeting with Leningraders. And the keen interest with which the audience heard him had to be seen to be believed. Incidentally, we all want to have greater, better, and more precise knowledge of our history. If only to make sense of today's complex situation and to have our own opinion about everything.

What could be learned? That N.S. Khrushchev worked on his memoirs from 1967 through 1971, that he dictated several thousand pages, but that he did not manage to finish his work. Pages were cited connected with N.S. Khrushchev's posting to Kiev, with the beginning of the war, with the details of our troops' severe defeat near Kharkov in 1942, and with Stalin's death. "I want," N.S. Khrushchev wrote at the beginning of his memoirs, "to be truthful." He was indeed truthful. So the memoirs could not be published earlier.

Yes, the program showed the time and events through Khrushchev's eyes. The effect was of a kind of immersion in the world of his feelings, opinions, and conclusions, which in fact Sergey Nikitich also stressed, saying: "As Khrushchev's son, of course, I would like people to speak well of him. Don't expect accusations from me; other people will do that"... And this intelligent sentence, seemingly singled out by the program makers, put a lot into perspective and maybe even cooled the heat of disagreement among those who do not know how to hear people out. By the way, it is also useful in our sometimes heightened intolerance of other people's opinions and different views on life.

But the program also showed me something else: For the umpteenth time Leningrad television has set an example to Central Television in its work without making declarations or challenges. Leningrad does its work in a timely

fashion, responding much more promptly to public interest in some fact, event, or person. Could this program have been made in Moscow? It could have, especially as Khrushchev's son lives in Moscow, and not in Leningrad. Like Mikoyan's son and many other people who have a good knowledge of history and invaluable testimonies to it. A whole cycle of memoirs could be compiled which are needed right now, not later, when interest in them has abated.

Meanwhile, those who can watch Leningrad television are doing so.

Kuzbass Collectives Stage 'Warning Strike'

LD0308104989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0912 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Kemerovo, 3 Aug (TASS)—The collectives of 17 coal-mining enterprises in Kuzbass staged a 2-hour warning strike this morning that was sanctioned by the oblast strike committee. It was declared in connection with what the strike committee sees as a failure to fulfill the 18 July USSR Council of Ministers' instruction to suspend the construction and conservation of the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem on the Tomi river.

A check of the construction site by deputies and members of the public—which showed that organizations belonging to a number of departments continue, with the assistance of cooperatives, to carry out intensive work on the installations of the hydrosystem—served as the cause for organizing the strike.

Out of the 17 enterprises that stopped work, 10 belong to the "Prokopyevskgidrougol" association and 4 to the "Leninskugol" association. The strike failed to meet with support in a majority of miners' cities.

Anatoliy Lyutenko, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Executive Committee, commented on the events at the request of a TASS correspondent:

"As we agreed yesterday at a session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, all work at the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem and within the reservoir was suspended this morning. A group of the oblast's leaders is there. Together with the local construction organizations and the leaders of Krapivinskiy Rayon, they are examining the scope of work essential for the conservation of the facilities of the hydrosystem. It has to be admitted that some of those in charge of the construction of the hydrosystem failed to fulfill the oblast executive committee's earlier decisions to suspend work and that they provided false information, thus having lied to people. All the same, it was not essential to declare today's strike, even if it is a warning one. All the more so because the strike committee knew that yesterday's oblast soviet session had adopted constructive measures with regard to the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem and many of the city's strike committees agreed with them."

Aftermath of Vorkuta Miners' Strike Described
PM0208152789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Coal Being Brought to the Surface"]

[Text] Vorkuta, Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]—Work is getting back to its normal rhythm at Vorkuta's mines and associated enterprises. In the last 24 hours, the shipment of fuel reached the planned target. A total of 814 cars were dispatched to consumers, carrying almost 58,000 tonnes of coal. That is 1,300 tonnes more than the day's target. But, since the beginning of July, the shortfall in the amount of coal dispatched has amounted to approximately 183,000 tonnes.

All 13 mines in the "Vorkutaugol" association are working. But so far only two of them—the "Ayach-Yaga" and the "Promyshlennaya"—have achieved the daily coal extraction norm. The other mines are still feeling the effects of the strike and a considerable amount of time has gone on starting up and testing equipment at the face. As a whole, in the last 24 hours the "Vorkutaugol" Association has brought 15,800 tonnes of coal less to the surface than planned. The shortfall in fuel extracted since the beginning of the month has risen to 350,000 tonnes.

The atmosphere in this polar city and its worker settlements remains uneasy. The city's combined strike committee, according to its chairman, V. Tareyev, has retained the right to call the miners out on strike again. This it intends to do if the agreement between the miners of the Pechorskiy coal basin and the government is not honored. But if the USSR Council of Ministers resolution now being drafted satisfies the miners, the city's combined strike committee and the individual mines' strike committees intend to continue their work in line with social principles until 1 January 1990 in order to monitor implementation of this document.

Baku Commandant Warns Against Mass Rallies
NC2907174989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the republic's capital is generally peaceful. However, an unauthorized meeting has been held.

I wish to recall that the holding of mass rallies and meetings are banned because of the special situation in the city. Individuals who have been involved in disrupting of this special situation will be rigorously brought to account. I urge all residents of Baku to act with caution and comply with the rules and regulations in the future.

[Signed] Major General Sokolov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Further Reported on Kiev Post Office Collapse

Kiev Officials Comment

LD0308203889 Kiev in English to Europe
1800 GMT 3 Aug 89

[From the "Ukraine Today" program]

[Text] As we already reported yesterday [2 Aug], the front part of the Kiev central post office suddenly collapsed; 11 people died in the heap of rubble and several persons were injured as a result of the accident. The cause of the tragedy is now being thoroughly studied by the state commission, headed by deputy chairman of the Ukraine's Council of Ministers, Konstantin Masik. Here's what he said in an interview for Radio Kiev:

[Begin Masik recording in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] We still do not know the main reasons of the accident. Probably the matter is that the building was erected as far back as 1956 and the structure components have become worn out as a result of the aging. A state commission has been set up, which will analyze the situation and make its conclusions. It will render assistance and money aid to those who suffered as a result of the accident. [end recording]

Here is what Lidiya Zhdanova told our reporter: She is deputy head of the Public Health Care Department of the City Soviet of People's Deputies.

[Begin Zhdanova recording in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] Four to 6 minutes after the accident occurred ambulance cars were already near the dilapidated building. Altogether 13 first aid teams were engaged yesterday in the accident area. They did everything possible to provide medical aid to those who suffered from the accident and also those who received injuries while rescuing people and removing the rubble. Three persons were hospitalized—one of them is still in a critical condition. I would like to point out that the population quickly responded offering their blood around the clock; 176 people donated their blood for saving the victims of the accident. [end recording]

The tragedy took away the lives of 11 people, but this number could have been even greater. The matter is that the entrance to the central post office is a traditional place to make dates and meet each other. The central post office is visited daily by thousands of Kiev residents and guests of the city. Several years ago, a huge slab which fell down from under the roof of the building killed a woman who was passing by. After that, the building was surrounded by a protective fence and the columns of the main entrance were scaffolded, as they needed an overhaul without delay. But the repair work was not finished. It would appear to me that as soon as it became clear that the structure needed emergency repairs, the entrance was to be closed. This would have certainly prevented the loss of human lives. The tragic

event must become a reminder not only to the municipal authorities of Kiev, but also other big cities of the world, who must seriously think over the state of urban housing.

Rumors of Bomb Rejected

*LD0308182789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent reports from Kiev:

[Lidiya Ilchenko, identified by caption] There were many tonnes of wreckage on this spot yesterday [2 Aug]. But in spite of the onset of darkness, efficient groups of rescue workers extracted victims from underneath the piles of broken bricks in literally 3-4 hours. Hundreds of people spent the whole night getting the square and pavements in order.

Urban transport has started running again on the Kreshchatik. The mutilated facade of the post office building gapes with its windows knocked out, its walls destroyed, and the trees on chestnut-lined avenues pulled down. But work to organize postal services for the population is proceeding without interruption. Speaking in the square with people involved in removing the obstructions, we learned that Kiev militia officers were some of the first to start saving people. Senior Sergeant Vladimir Yurchenko, who was on duty outside the post office, literally snatched a young woman out from under the falling wreckage of columns. [video shows traffic on street, surveyors at work outside wrecked building, two militiamen in street, plinth without its column outside the post office]

Unfortunately, however, there are various conjectures and rumors surrounding this sad event, even alleging that a bomb exploded on the Kreshchatik. All that is untrue. [video shows people standing in groups, then showing correspondent standing outside the post office interviewing Anatoliy Ivanovich, not further identified]

Anatoliy Ivanovich, I know that you spent the whole night at the scene of the incident. What took place?

[Anatoliy Ivanovich] Numerous Kievites who were nearby came to help right away. I would like to note that our metro builders, bridge builders, and staff from the public utilities worked in a very organized and precise manner. Everything necessary for saving people was deployed. The greatest pain lies in the fact that there were casualties. Eleven people died: four of them were from Kiev, and seven were guests of our capital. The fight for the lives of two people is continuing.

[Tlchenko] All the same, Anatoliy Ivanovich, what was the reason for the collapse?

[Anatoliy Ivanovich] The building was erected at the beginning of the fifties. It is probable that some sort of excesses and shortcomings in construction were committed when the facade was put up. Of course, checks on the condition of the building were inadequate. But I want to stress once more that the commission and specialists are investigating in depth everything that happened. Appropriate conclusions will be drawn in the next few days. [video shows shots of the post office facade as the interview proceeds]

New Supreme Court Chairman Interviewed

*PM0108190089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by special correspondent Yevgeniy Zhdanov: "On the Judiciary"; place and date of interview not given; first three paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Gone are the times when our Themis was seen as carrying only the sword of punishment and people were so accustomed to bias in favor of the prosecution that at times it was accepted as proper justice. And they forgot the main point: That power to judge is not quite the same as administration of justice....

Blind faith has now run out of steam. We can see that the instances of bias and concessions to timeserving considerations contrary to truth and the law which were allowed to occur by courts and even by the Supreme Court are only too fresh in people's memory. Society today needs full confidence in the profound professionalism of the judiciary, in its honesty, principledness, and—let us be blunt—its courage to be independent... This is also a question of cadres. It is therefore no surprise that Ye.A. Smolentsev's candidacy for the position of chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, prior to his election by parliament and confirmation by the Congress of Soviets, was—let us recall—subjected to comprehensive discussion, a kind of public expert study of reliability. The vote of confidence is therefore all the more of an honor and responsibility.

It was under this impression that IZVESTIYA's special correspondent began his conversation on the "third branch of power"—the judiciary—with the newly elected USSR supreme judge.

[Zhdanov] A wise man once said that past worries are not so bad in retrospect. I say this, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, because you probably felt a few worries when you were publicly put on the rack for an hour with questions which were sometimes barbed. Did you find many of the questions difficult to answer?

[Smolentsev] Thank you for the sympathy. But I do not think that I was "put on the rack." Deputies asked about matters which perturbed them, and I think they did so very seriously and efficiently. How could it have been otherwise? In people's minds the judicial and legal

reform is associated with the creation of a law enforcement system designed to protect the democratic principles of the law's supremacy and to protect citizens' rights and freedoms. In a civilized society the professional reputation of the judiciary is simply inseparable from its moral reputation. This is because justice can ultimately be guaranteed only by people and, naturally, their personal qualities need to be evaluated in advance before winning confidence. Blind faith poses hardly any obligations and attributes all its mistakes to "fateful coincidence"; awareness primarily means awareness of mutual responsibility between those in whom confidence is vested and those who vest that confidence.

Were there any difficult questions? There were, and I believe that my answers could have been more exhaustive. Frankly speaking, however, I was agitated: It was, after all, the first time I had had to account for myself to such an exacting and intellectually powerful audience. An unusual procedure. But a necessary one. This, you know, is like a pilot's medical checkup prior to a passenger airliner's takeoff.

[Zhbanov] But why did you speak up against the jury system? Surely it can serve as a guarantee against bias?

[Smolentsev] I expressed my personal opinion. Maybe I am wrong. And if the jury system is introduced in the ritual of the judicial process, I shall follow the new rules.

[Zhbanov] Generally speaking, when replying to deputies' questions, you had to willy-nilly express your views on a whole range of problems associated with the legal reform now under way, and all this could be read in the stenographic account published by IZVESTIYA. So, in your view, what amendments could be made to the legal status of the USSR Supreme Court itself? It is well known that back in the twenties it was actually given the right to exercise partial constitutional oversight. What will happen now, in the new situation?

[Smolentsev] Well, first of all, not everything new is merely something from the past that has been forgotten. Second, here we need a slight historical digression. Indeed, the 30 December 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR did envisage the institution of a USSR Supreme Court which, in addition to hearing court cases and exercising judicial oversight, was also assigned the task of overseeing legality in the country. Bluntly speaking, in the spirit of a rule-of-law state. Specifically, at the demand of the union's Central Executive Committee Presidium, the supreme organ of the judiciary gave rulings on whether resolutions by the Councils of People's Commissars of the USSR and the union republics conformed with the fundamental law. Moreover, it was given the right to autonomously make representations to the union's Central Executive Committee on the suspension or even total abolition of resolutions and orders issued either by the Council of People's Commissars or

by individual commissariats, provided it had established that they contravened the USSR Constitution. In short, that was proper constitutional oversight, not partial, as you put it.

Alas, as an authoritarian system began to put down roots in the country, this function was curbed little by little and was completely abrogated in 1933.

Turning to the present, the creation of a Constitutional Oversight Committee is a radically new element. Work is now being done to elaborate a legislative act defining the committee's powers, which will presumably be sufficiently broad.

Nonetheless, in my view, certain oversight functions ought to be included in the powers of the supreme organ of the judiciary. Namely: If, when hearing a case, the Supreme Court determines that any judicial decisions made on the basis of normative resolutions or orders issued by the USSR Council of Ministers, a union republic Council of Ministers, or a union republic law are contrary to the USSR Constitution or USSR laws, it would be logical for us to be given the right to make a submission to the committee that these acts be deprived of legal force. If, in a similar situation, there arises a question of applying normative acts issued by local organs or departmental instructions (directives, orders) which are not in conformity with the USSR Constitution or the USSR laws, I think that it would be natural to give the supreme organ of the judiciary the right to rule that such acts are unlawful and to decide the case at issue on the basis of all-union legislation. Incidentally, such powers are envisaged in the new draft Law on the Supreme Court. It is only a draft for the time being, but I think that it is in line with the ideas of a rule-of-law state. So let us hope.

[Zhbanov] Let me get this clear right away. Much is being written and said about a rule-of-law state now, these problems were also sharply raised at the Congress. But many IZVESTIYA readers just shrug their shoulders, as it were. After all, even now the law underlies the entire activity of all state institutions. So, are we not just playing with words?

[Smolentsev] This is not a matter of words. We are talking about the creation of a genuine rule-of-law state. Let me emphasize: genuine rule-of-law. Meanwhile, the existing law enforcement mechanisms made it possible (and still make it possible) in real life, especially in economic life, to elevate current—departmental, for example—interests above the law. Hence the certain priority of ordinances, the lenience toward breaches of legality, and generally some officials' attitude toward the letter of the law as nothing more than juridical nit-picking, as excessive formality which can be disregarded for the sake of "higher interests." Of course, demagoguery and arbitrariness go hand in hand here.

The people paid a high price for legal arbitrariness during the years of mass repressions. And during the years of stagnation. But even recently—in the time of perestroika—its destructive influence has had an effect on the economy: overreporting in state returns, manufacture of substandard output, gross violations of technological discipline, accidents, ecological voluntarism, and others.

Thus the mechanisms of a rule-of-law state must place everyone in conditions ruling out any official invulnerability and total license—this above all else. The law's supremacy must become reality from top to bottom. This means that a law adopted by the supreme power cannot be repealed, amended, or suspended by any departmental acts, directives, or resolutions. It must be mandatory for all—party and government organs, institutions, and organizations, for all officials and citizens. In this process, all legal institutions must be oriented toward human rights so as to balance the unfair bias in the "state-man" relationship which has always been in favor of the former. And in order to ensure that the new legal mechanism functions flawlessly, I think that the following are vitally necessary: glasnost, constitutional oversight, independent courts, autonomous investigative organs, all-embracing prosecutor's supervision, and, of course, a strong and independent body of defense attorneys. But a key role in the elaboration of the rule-of-law state concept will have to be played by the fundamental law, which must truly become the basic source of law: Constitutional norms must be given a direct and immediate effect to ensure that they are cited not in jubilee celebration speeches but in legal documents.

[Zhbanov] But what is happening, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich? For half a century now the administrative edict system, vitally keen on the strengthening of executive power, little by little curbed the judiciary and opened the floodgates of departmental arbitrariness. We talk about the supremacy of the law, and meanwhile we still have to this day—and in direct contravention of the Constitution—the notorious Lists [for explanation see below] which prevent millions of citizens from appealing to the court against unlawful dismissal from work. In this way the supreme organ of social protection—this, by the way is an expression you used!—keeps silently out of the most acute conflicts. But why? Why should the leader of an enterprise or even a minister, assuming that he is dismissed from office, be unable to start an action in the Supreme Court if he believes his dismissal to be unlawful?

[Smolentsev] I believe that you are correct in raising this question. Constitutionally, all USSR citizens are equal before the law and before the court and therefore any worker, employee, or leadership worker has the equal right to seek protection of his legitimate interests in court. Yes, the so-called Lists No. 1 and No. 2 are in effect now, listing many categories of workers who can only appeal against dismissal from work internally to their superiors. But until such time as this unquestionably absurd provision is

repealed, the courts have to proceed on the basis of the prevailing situation and not on the basis of criticism of it, no matter how justified it may be.

At the same time I am convinced that, in the conditions of a rule-of-law state, our labor legislation will inevitably come to expand people's right to appeal to the court on any issue if they believe that their rights have been infringed. Even though some categories of leadership workers will evidently still be deprived of the right to start a court action for reinstatement at work. This restriction, in my view, would apply to those who have been elected or appointed to office by Supreme Soviets or other state organs, or, for example, those who have been appointed to office on a competitive basis.

[Zhbanov] Courts have started adopting a noticeably stricter approach toward evaluation of investigation materials in the last 3 years, at least in criminal cases. This is why cases are more frequently referred for additional investigation, and acquittals are more frequently to be heard. Fine, this is a normal process. Even though, of course, it greatly complicates investigative work—it necessitates greater circumspection. But I have repeatedly heard senior comrades in law enforcement organs expressing sharp dissatisfaction: Such a stance by judicial organs, they say, is nothing but a tendency to show bias in favor of acquittal, which weakens the struggle against crime. What do you think, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich? What is your view of the so-called punitive policy?

[Smolentsev] Unfortunately some citizens, including "senior comrades," are to this day under the illusion that the courts are an organ for struggle against crime. If this were so, the courts would turn into nothing but rubber-stampers of preliminary investigation material. But if genuine administration of justice is the intention, the courts' holy of holies is to determine the truth. The law must be strictly applied to acquit the innocent and to punish the guilty.

But even the court itself, especially when complex cases have been insufficiently fully investigated, is not always able to eliminate flaws and contradictions in the evidence. The court then refers the case for further investigation. Does this hinder the struggle against crime? I think that this formulation of the question is simply unjustified. Because it presupposes the court's right to make a mistake, both when sentencing and when acquitting. How can you have administration of justice unless law and conscience march hand in hand? This is why reproaches of the sort you mentioned should be left to the conscience of people who, out of a lack of professionalism or for other, possibly objective, reasons, cope poorly with case investigations.

And now about "the state's punitive policy." There is no justification for this term's existence. We can only talk of criminal policy. Punishment should not be punitive. The time has already come to abandon the idea of "punitive

measures" whose core is retribution or, if you like, vengeance. It is not a matter of vengeance, it is a matter of a desire to reeducate the guilty and eventually return them to normal life. But our criminal policy does not in any way preach some sort of abstract humanism in the form of total absolution. No! [Its aim is] to impose the harshest possible punishment under the law on those who commit serious crimes (murder, rape, robbery, apartment burglary, grand larceny, bribery, malicious hooliganism), and not to pointlessly pass sentences involving imprisonment on first offenders found guilty of less dangerous crimes or crimes of negligence who could be corrected without any camp "barbed wire." It is from this policy that our judges do and must proceed.

As regards the talk about bias "in favor of acquittal," it is more an expression of the old worry about departmental prestige rather than of concern for justice. Unfortunately, there are still many mistakes committed by courts in both directions. But these are mistakes. And by the way, prosecutors have the right to appeal to a higher court against any unjustified verdict. But the time has come to abandon the idea that an indictment must necessarily be followed by a verdict of guilty, as used to happen in our country for decades on end, when an acquittal was perceived as some sort of an extraordinary occurrence.

[Zhbanov] The wish to revive trial by jury in our country is voiced as one of the many measures suggested for the further democratization of the system of the administration of justice. You expressed a different viewpoint at the Congress of People's Deputies. Could you substantiate it in more detail?

[Smolentsev] I not only can but also wish to. The first thing I would say is this: The introduction of trial by jury in bourgeois states was certainly a progressive phenomenon. But it was progressive only in comparison with feudal courts.

If we proceed from actual reality, however, our own society would experience—and all too soon—bitter disappointment if we were to return to this form of judicial procedure, just as many other panaceas have been disappointing. Because such a return would really be a backward step. And this is why. In the first place, it must not be forgotten that jurors, regardless of nuances in court procedures, have very limited rights. They are silent during the trial, their right and duty being to wisely observe the proceedings and to answer just one question: Is the accused guilty? So will they be able to give an objective and unemotional answer to this supreme question today, especially in view of the growing complexity of criminal cases, where the interpretation of the evidence and its accurate evaluation depend to a decisive extent on judges' professionalism? I do not think so. It is no accident that jurors participate in very few cases tried

in Western states (2 percent of cases in Britain and the FRG, 4 percent in the United States). As far as France is concerned, trial by jury has been altogether abandoned as being totally outdated.

Now let us seriously evaluate the opportunities available to our lay judges. Vested with the full power of a judge, a lay judge participates in a trial on an equal footing with judges in studying the evidence and deciding pleas, and has an equal voice in the conference chamber when literally all questions are decided.

Those who adopt a skeptical attitude toward the institution of lay judges as such (and there are, alas, more than enough grounds for skepticism and even irony), usually claim that they have many rights but lack the guts to exercise them: Owing to their lack of specialized juridical training they rely blindly on the professional judge's authority. Let us assume that this is so. But if we were to introduce the institution of jurors, it would be interesting to know who the jurors would be? Mainly the same juridically ignorant people! Therefore the problem is to improve the qualitative composition of lay judges. The problem is to ensure a more responsible approach toward their election, not to just follow formal recommendations by party and trade union committees. It is no secret that, often enough, those nominated as lay judges are not the wisest, most intelligent, and most principled people who are capable not only of analyzing the complex situations which they encounter in court but also of standing up against illegality, but those who can be released from daily work with the least possible resultant damage to the collective. Elected lay judges must be psychologically trained to play their part in court, they must be taught, they must be made more thoroughly familiar with the legislation that is to be applied, and their activeness must be awakened.

A different point is raised by views in favor of expanding the number of lay judges to four when sitting with one judge or to three when sitting with two permanent judges. This can only be welcomed. In more complex cases, such an increase of the court's numbers would certainly enhance both the standards and the prestige of our Themis.

[Zhbanov] And one last question. How do you imagine a judge's personality?

[Smolentsev] I am afraid I have nothing to add to what has already been said on hundreds of occasions. Here is my favorite saying by Cicero: "When an honest man sits in a judge's seat, he forgets personal sympathies." Let me say just this: If a judge does not possess the best human qualities, he can harm people more than any other representative of power. And the judges' work demands not only professionalism but also tact and, if you like, courage. This is why sound cadres can be reliable only when they enjoy society's respect and attention. And of course, also if society is unstinting in remunerating their labor.

Yazov Attends Armed Forces Political Meeting
LD1307134189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] A meeting of heads of political bodies of the Soviet Armed Forces and the Navy was held in Moscow 11-13 July. The further restructuring of the style and methods of work of political departments was examined. A report was made by Army General Lizichev, head of the Main Political Directorate. Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Defense Minister, was present.

Zaykov Denies Damage to Perestroyka
PM0108100289 Rome LA REPUBBLICA
in Italian 25 Jul 89 p 13

[Interview with Lev Zaykov, Moscow City Party Committee chairman, by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted]

[Mauro] Lev Nikolayevich, what is happening in the USSR? In Siberia the mines have been closed for a week, the strike in the Donbass is continuing, the workers are taking to the streets and condemning their living and working conditions. Does this explosion of social protest not reveal the failure of perestroyka?

[Zaykov] I must reply with a categorical no. Protest is the result of stagnation, and in the days of glasnost we must grow accustomed to regarding it as normal. In some cases, the local authorities are to blame for the strikes because they have never tackled certain problems, and the whole party is also to blame: For too many years we were concerned only with having more coal and more metal, without looking at the social problems and people's lives. What is happening shows that the people are now demanding a response to their rights. And I say that the people are right to do so. This is therefore only the beginning.

[Mauro] So, could the workers' protest spread?

[Zaykov] Look, we have ignored many serious and difficult aspects for too long and they could lead to new protests in the near future. We must expect that. But the lesson of the Kuzbass and Donbass has not been in vain. We have opened up a dialogue with the masses, and we now know their needs. We will take the necessary measures as soon as possible. We must not be alarmed if the people demand a better life.

[Mauro] However, might there not be a temptation to resort to a trial of strength with the Army attacking the crowd, as happened in Tbilisi?

[Zaykov] These are very different things. In Tbilisi there were outside forces stirring up the people, with openly antisocialist speeches and calls to impose a change in the system. However, this is a workers' protest which is taking place on an entirely different basis. The difference is important.

[Mauro] But the use which is made of the social conflicts is also important: For some deputies the Tbilisi events were proof of a coup against perestroyka. What do you think of that?

[Zaykov] I think that the Tbilisi events were a tragedy. I cannot see what basis there is for saying that they were an attempted coup. At all events, a parliamentary commission is investigating. Let us wait and find out what happened.

[Mauro] What will happen if the workers' rebellion spreads from the mines to the big factories in Moscow and Leningrad?

[Zaykov] I will tell you frankly: We have no guarantee that that will not happen. The protest may spread: Revolutions are no picnic, and this is a revolution. If the strikes reach the big cities, everything will depend on the leadership bodies' ability to agree with the workers when they are right and win them over when they are wrong.

[Mauro] But, as a Politburo member, do you not see the workers' strike against the socialist government in the Soviet Union as a contradiction?

[Zaykov] Yes. Our party is a workers' and peasants' party and the state is a socialist state, and strikes are therefore a nonsense. It is clear that we have failed to use the full potential and advantages of a socialist system. But even if strikes in the USSR are a contradiction they are a reality and must be seen as such. I think that if we solve our economic problems and increase the people's living standard, the strikes will be an isolated incident.

[Mauro] Gorbachev said that the miners want to speed up perestroyka. What do you think of that in view of your recent speech in which you said it was impossible to speed up politics?

[Zaykov] Just a moment: I was talking about the impossibility of artificially speeding up perestroyka. I know very well that life does not enable us to implement this policy at our leisure. But the opposite—doing everything at a stroke—is also impossible and above all harmful. The ancient Romans left us a fine principle: *festina lente*. And I think that the wise thing in politics is not to lose your perspective and keep your feet on the ground.

[Mauro] However, what are the prospects given the explosion of nationalism, which after Gorbachev's call for a truce led to the violent battle of Abkhazia?

[Zaykov] We are very worried. I think we made a mistake when we said that the national question in our country had been solved. We must examine the problem in depth, and this is the reason for postponing the plenum on the nationalities' question.

[Mauro] How do you explain the fact that in many regions order was restored only by a curfew and tanks on the streets of perestroika?

[Zaykov] Perestroika is based on glasnost and democracy which do not please everybody. And some people think they have the right to do anything in the name of democracy. Thugs have sought and found cover in this way. We are discussing this subject and we are asking: Why has nationalist feeling broken out with such violence?

[Mauro] But some economists say that the food crisis may destroy the consensus on perestroika: Do you agree?

[Zaykov] This is one of the most serious problems, so much so that it has become a political problem. Of course, perestroika's failure in the sphere of food supplies would be a severe blow to the whole renewal process. As far as I can tell, the people understand the great difficulty, they realize that nobody can provide abundance in the same way as you give beads to the natives.

[Mauro] However, Boris Yeltsin, whom you replaced as head of the Moscow party, defeated the CPSU and won an electoral triumph by putting the food problem first. Did you expect that success?

[Zaykov] Yes. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is a very well-known name and his team was very dynamic and tenacious throughout the election campaign. I would like to add that this very fact should be seen as a sign of the times: Would it have been possible a few years ago for a man forced to resign to return to political activity?

[Mauro] What is your view of the accusations which Judge Gdlyan made against Ligachev?

[Zaykov] Public accusations against any man must be justified. In this case, the reverse is true. I regard Comrade Ligachev as a great Communist devoted to the party's cause.

[Mauro] At the last Central Committee meeting, the positions adopted by Gorbachev and Ligachev seemed very different and while the latter defended the party, the general secretary strongly criticized it. Do you feel that you are under accusation as Moscow secretary?

[Zaykov] Gorbachev did not criticize a specific CPSU organization and he did not make any particular references. He said that the party is lagging behind. And I am in complete agreement on that.

[Mauro] Following Solovyev's replacement as Leningrad first secretary, do you think that all the leadership members defeated in the elections ought to leave their party posts?

[Zaykov] The party has not yet decided, because it is aware that the election defeat is not always the candidate's fault. Some of them became leadership members a short time ago and have not yet succeeded in winning authority among the masses, some of them ended up as hostages to the country's social and economic problems. I would therefore say that they must think carefully, assess everything, and decide case by case. Solovyev, for instance, had already resigned 3 months earlier because he realized that he could no longer be Leningrad leader. My first deputy in Moscow and the city's mayor are at their posts although they lost the elections.

[Mauro] What do you think of the widespread opinion in the West that Gorbachev's election as head of state makes him less vulnerable to surprise attacks by the Politburo?

[Zaykov] I do not think that the results of the Congress changed the balance within the Politburo at all. We all worked and are still working together in a constructive way. Of course, we have discussions and debates. But everything is done in the interests of the cause. There are no struggles based on personal ambition, there are no cafe politics. None of this exists thanks to the atmosphere of collegiality and sincere comradeship which has existed in the top leadership in recent years.

[Mauro] Some deputies asked Gorbachev to abandon the post of general secretary to remain president. According to Gorbachev this is not yet possible. What about the future?

[Zaykov] I think it is possible. In 1985, when Gorbachev became party leader, he violated the tradition of combining the two posts. This combination is now deemed useful in the particular circumstances of the present stage in the country's development.

[Mauro] But, in recent times, the general secretary has seemed worried and tense, and has had to deny rumors of coups at the congress: why?

[Zaykov] I can tell you categorically that there is no threat to Gorbachev. His victory in the election to president is significant. There are certainly some loudmouths. But when everybody recognizes Gorbachev's talents, how can we believe that the criticisms of a few loudmouths could be a threat to him?

[Mauro] But the threat can also be sought elsewhere, in the lack of consensus at the top: What do you say to those who think that Gorbachev now runs the risk of being overthrown?

[Zaykov] I say that there are no rivals either for the post of general secretary or for the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet. It was Gorbachev who launched perestroika, the party shares his line and shoulders full responsibility for unsolved problems. Of course, the fact remains that everybody must carry his own luggage. But the question which you raise has only one answer: There is no alternative to Gorbachev.

Internal Affairs Minister Discusses Crime Rate

PM1307081389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To New Meetings!"]

[Text] To further develop collaboration between the mass media and law enforcement bodies and inform journalists on the vital problems of all their services—these were the aims of the All-Union Seminar of Journalists which came to a close in Moscow on 8 July. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and the USSR Union of Journalists Board organized the meeting, which was attended by members of oblast, kray, and republic newspapers and television and radio broadcasting personnel specializing in social and legal affairs.

The shocking increase in crime in the country was discussed with concern by USSR Internal Affairs Minister V.V. Bakatin, speaking at the close of the seminar. In his report, he raised the important questions of enhancing the prestige of the profession of militiaman and the financial and legal support of militia members. He pointed out that glasnost and close cooperation between journalists and internal affairs bodies are of unquestionable benefit.

The program of the seminar, which lasted for almost a week, was very full. Those present were able to learn about the problems experienced by the investigations department, which has been awaiting reorganization for 3 years and in the meantime is losing its best cadres, and about the difficulties faced by the service for combatting the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation, which has largely lost its assertiveness because of the courts' "new" interpretations of crimes such as bribe-taking and embezzlement. Of course, journalists specializing in legal affairs would have done better to turn to the leaders of the USSR Supreme Court for an answer to the question of obvious extremes in legal practice. But, unfortunately, none of its representatives responded to the invitation from the seminar organizers.

A great deal of interest was aroused by the report from A.I. Gurov, deputy head of department at the USSR MVD All-Union Scientific Research Institute, on the struggle against the mafia. Clear, specific examples illustrating the work of the Moscow militia to eliminate organized crime were given by Lieutenant General P.S. Bogdanov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs and chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration.

The seminar participants were able to acquaint themselves with the work of a special militia detachment set up to deal with emergency situations and also to protect public order during mass rallies and demonstrations. Members of the detachment demonstrated methods of hand-to-hand combat and the use of special weapons. The journalists were able to witness the virtual stunts which members of this detachment are called upon to perform in order to enter an apartment barricaded by a hostile.

A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department, and V.G. Afanasyev, chairman of the USSR Union of Journalists Board and chief editor of PRAVDA, took part in the work of the seminar and presented reports.

Biryukova Attends Education Committee Plenum

PM1307110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Education and the Legal Reform"]

[Text] Perestroika and the development of public education are impossible without reliable legal backup. This issue was discussed at a plenum of the USSR State Committee for Public Education which opened in Moscow 11 July. A report on the draft Basic Guidelines of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Public Education was delivered by V.D. Shadrikov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Public Education.

The new legislation on public education is to act as a barrier against "self-motivated legal activities" on the part of departments. Its aim is to eliminate administrative-command methods from the sphere of education and to firmly establish a social and state system of management of public education, giving broad scope to pedagogical initiative.

The plenum will continue its work 12 July. Problems of upbringing and prevention of juvenile delinquency will be discussed.

The plenum is attended by A. P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

All-Union Cooperatives Congress Ends 1 Jul

LD0107222689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1541 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Jul (TASS)—The first All-Union Congress of Cooperatives in the spheres of production and services ended its work in Moscow today [1 July].

The congress participants adopted an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet which requests that the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the progressive taxation of cooperatives should be suspended.

The need was stated at the congress to regulate relations between cooperatives and the state. The delegates also raised important issues such as combatting racketeering and the need to assist the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in this matter. They talked about creating conditions to prevent law-breaking in cooperatives.

The statute of the USSR Union of United Cooperatives in the production and social spheres has been approved. Thus a new all-union organization has been founded. The main areas of its work will be the formation and development of an organizational, information, financial, educational, and social infrastructure for cooperatives, the development of their scientific base, and well-founded prospects for the future. Mechanisms for coordinating the interests of cooperatives and other organizations and developing foreign economic links also have to be created.

The council, presidium, and auditing commission of the new union have been formed.

Chernobyl Staff Discusses Current Operations

PM0607084789 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
17 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with M.P. Umanets, director of the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station, and S.K. Parashin, chairman of the labor collective council and nuclear electric power station shift chief, by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent A. Sokol: "Chernobyl Today: Life Without the Duty Tour System"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date of interview not given]

[Text] Kiev Oblast—Chernobyl's power engineering specialists have worked according to the duty tour method—2 weeks' work followed by 2 weeks' rest—for approximately 3 years. When they were working they lived outside the zone in the settlement of Zelenyy Mys. They went to Kiev to recuperate. Last fall they finally abandoned the duty tour system. M.P. Umanets, director of the nuclear electric power station [AES], and S.K. Parashin, chairman of the labor collective council and AES shift chief, talk about this.

[Sokol] Mikhail Panteleyevich and Sergey Konstantinovich, although duty tours are now a thing of the past, many people still remember them. What is your opinion of this method?

[Parashin] Right after the accident, the highways leading to the AES had higher radioactive contamination than the buildings—where, naturally, personnel were on duty. We had to reduce the number of trips to a minimum by employing 12-hour work shifts. The radiation level improved prior to startup but another problem still remained—our families were settled far away in Kiev. This largely forced us to switch to the long duty tour work method.

[Umanets] This enforced measure entailed considerable problems. In particular, we had to construct Zelenyy Mys—the duty tour settlement—in a hurry, which involved considerable expenditure. The number of AES personnel almost doubled. But the main thing was that people's lives became more complex.

[Sokol] But is all that in the past now and have we put an end to the difficulties and adversities, so to speak?

[Umanets] I would not say that. The transitional period also entails considerable complexities. For example, more than 10,000 people are already living in Slavutich, the new city for power engineering workers, while socio-cultural and public amenities—things necessary for a normal life—are still under construction. Suburban amenities are particularly disquieting—the kindergarten, young pioneer camp, and leisure zone. Moreover, construction workers' original enthusiasm has diminished. If we do not fulfill our promises, people will not understand us.

[Sokol] How many of Slavutich's residents work at the AES?

[Umanets] More than 3,500. More than 1,000 people have still not been provided with housing (560 are living in Kiev). It is proposed to solve this problem completely by the end of the year.

[Sokol] How do the townspeople get to work? For it is still 55 km from Slavutich to the AES.

[Parashin] A modern highway from Slavutich to Chernobyl with bridges over the Dnepr and Pripyat rivers was constructed rapidly, but we do not use it—we use the railroad. It takes 1 and 1/2 hours from home to work. You realize that is a bit long.

[Umanets] The entire trip was scheduled to take 1 hour and 5 minutes. The thing is that at present the electric locomotives travel at a speed of 70 km per hour. Transport workers are still not ready for the intended speeds of 120 km per hour. There is no automatic traffic control and therefore a considerable interval must be maintained between trains. As a result the shift turnaround is delayed.

We hope that railroad workers will meet us halfway. New electric trains, which would add to our comfort en route, are extremely necessary.

[Sokol] On entering the zone, trains encounter radioactive contamination. How are people protected against this?

[Parashin] The train "process" is as follows: Everyone changes their shoes and clothes on leaving Slavutich. We change our ordinary clothing for traveling clothes—jeans and weatherproofs. The clothing is stored, naturally, in individual lockers. At the border of the 30-km zone we change from the Slavutich electric train to one that does

not leave the zone. The train doors are aligned during the transfer and the switch takes a matter of minutes. There are two lockers once again at the AES: We take off our traveling clothes and put on our work clothes.

A double barrier to radioactive contamination.

[Umanets] Study of the contamination levels of transport and clothes shows that this safety margin is unnecessary. We will possibly switch to one electric train in the future and abandon one change of clothes.

[Parashin] We were more worried about the construction of a changing point at Slavutich and a decontamination center in Semikhody—at the railroad station near the AES. But they are already ready. The construction of a sealed platform which completely screens us while we leave and enter the train has been completed in Semikhody.

[Sokol] When they began to occupy Slavutich, many cadre workers did not want to move there. Why was that? They said the radiation levels in the new city were unsafe.

[Umanets] The radiation level here is normal, just as it is in Kiev. People did not go to Slavutich for various reasons. Some had come to the end of their working life in power engineering, while others were prevented by their health, and a third group was more attracted to Kiev—the wives and children did not want to leave it.

[Parashin] Slavutich had only just been constructed and was not like it is today. It is more appealing today.

[Umanets] Mistakes were also an obstacle—both those by the “higher-ups” and our own. That is hard to grasp. The reality is this: Cadres employed at the AES before the accident constitute only one-tenth of the current collective. A sizable change, as the saying goes.

[Sokol] Has this not had an impact on the quality of work? I thought even trained people need “to learn the ropes.”

[Umanets] There must be no misgivings on this score. We have received reliable reinforcements. More than 500 people used to work in AES's—AES's like ours, moreover. Approximately 1,000 people have worked in similar power enterprises. Training and retraining are, naturally, our immediate tasks. We have asked for 600 old specialists to stay a while (in addition to the established complement). They are helping maintain a reliable operational level at the AES and helping train new employees. I believe that by the end of the year we will on the whole have permanent highly qualified cadres.

[Sokol] What are the working conditions like at the AES? What effect is the 4th power unit having on them?

[Umanets] First, let me say something about the power unit that was destroyed. It does not determine the radiation situation at the AES. The “Shater” diagnostic system operating there constantly confirms scientists' and specialists' optimistic calculations. We do not expect the fuel to heat up or an uncontrollable chain reaction.

Engineering and decontamination work in the machine room and on the roof—for which we are particularly grateful to the Army—have been of great importance.

[Parashin] The radiation situation at the AES can be described with the aid of the following figures: In 1987, the average radiation dose to which a worker was exposed was 1.87 rem, whereas last year it was 1.1 rem. But this has been achieved with effort.

[Sokol] It is well known that it has been planned to implement a host of measures aimed at increasing the safety of the AES. How are they being fulfilled?

[Umanets] These steps must be distinguished. For instance, some complex scientific measures are in the development stage. We have done what can be done today. In particular, we have implemented measures to reduce the steam reactivity coefficient and increase the effectiveness and speed of the reactor containment mechanism. It is well known that the reactor's former vulnerability in these areas facilitated the accident. Work to enhance safety will continue. This also presupposes the development of a new type of reactor.

[Parashin] The fact that the “No Risk!” rule has been introduced is of considerable importance. We stop the unit if there is any variation, malfunction, or uncertainty. The mentality was somewhat different in the past. Now such a step finally meets with understanding from the ministry.

[Umanets] Work has become easier for the director and staff.

[Sokol] How are the units running? Are they shut down often?

[Umanets] There are shutdowns. You simply cannot avoid that—considering the present-day attitude to irregular situations and the quality of the equipment. The units' work could be assessed from the following figures: Last year the AES' 3 units produced more than 20 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. That is with a rated capacity of 7 billion kilowatt-hours per unit.

Controversy Continues Over Gorkiy Nuclear Plant
18220180 Moscow TRUD in Russian
28 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by TRUD correspondent V. Dolgodvorov: “In the Zone of Heightened Secrecy”]

[Text] The Gorkiy Nuclear Heating Plant is being erected 5 kilometers away from residential buildings.

At the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the issue of development of the nuclear power industry was raised sharply. Deputies from Gorkiy expressed the concern of their fellow citizens with the construction of the nuclear heating plant—AST—in the vicinity of the city of one million. The Gorkiy AST, the first in the country, the experimental one, was designed, and its construction was started as early as in the 1970's, when "coordination" in the offices of high-ranking officials sufficed for this weighty step. However, a different time has come, that of democratization and glasnost. The tragedy of Chernobyl made us take a different view of the "peaceful atom." The passions seethed in Gorkiy on account of the AST. Every Saturday and Sunday, the "Greens" and other "informals" put up posters and banners with the demand to mothball the construction site in the streets of downtown, and gather signatures under protest petitions: Their number surpassed 100,000 long ago. The proponents of the Gorkiy AST, primarily the employees of the station, carry on their visual propaganda here as well. Large meetings are held, discussions rage....

What are the arguments of the parties?

The designers argue that the Gorkiy AST is almost as simple and reliable in operation as a "samovar." "The reactor has been designed in such a manner that the progress of explosive processes of the Chernobyl type or something similar is absolutely ruled out," assure us the authors of the design O. Samoylov, V. Kuul, and B. Averbakh. "Self-regulation and self-restriction, self-circulation and self-cooling—these features allow the reactor to save itself in difficult situations."

"The probability of hypothetical accidents at the AST is comparable to that of a meteorite coming down on the head of a pedestrian"—this is the point of view of A. Protchenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy.

At the construction site, I witnessed the fitters put together a safety case of the reactor, which, in the event of a loss of sealing in the first case, will assume the protective function. According to the design, this nested doll is also expected to be encased inside giant concrete shielding. This is triple protection. Whichever way you look at it, the structure is impressive. Its strength is designed to withstand a 9-point earthquake, or a direct hit by a heavy plane....

"All assemblies and parts have been tested and retested. The staff of the station consists of the most experienced specialists," says S. Mazun, my escort, head of the Department of Nuclear Safety of the Gorkiy AST. "However, if the improbable does occur, the reactor will be blocked immediately, and in the protective zone with a radius of 1 km the radiation level will not exceed even one-half of the dose permissible for humans...."

The arguments appear to be more than just convincing. Why then are the residents of Gorkiy so uneasy?

Incidentally, the station was renamed from experimental to trial-stage in order to calm the people; now, it is altogether considered to be just "a prototype of the new type of reactor."

Mazun told me confidently about the reliability of the new storage facility for spent nuclear fuel and the warehouse for radioactive wastes, and about the system of meters in strata containing water: They will immediately raise the alarm if radiation leaks into underground rivers (two of which flow under the station).

"What happens next?" I asked.

"We will look for the location of the radiation leak...."

"And where will the contaminated water flow?"

The head of the Department of Nuclear Safety shrugged his shoulders: into mother Volga....

So, not everything has been thought through to the end?

"We are being assured that the probability of an accident is one in a million years of station operations," said corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Troitskiy. "Let us recall: Only in recent years, there have been three 'nuclear accidents' in the United States, Great Britain, and in our country, and recently one more was added, in Japan."

We are being told that radioactive emissions of the AST under normal circumstances are negligible. However, they are silent about the fact that plants and animals are capable of accumulating in their cells radioactive isotopes, boosting their content many times.

The station has already "devoured" more than 200 million rubles, and nobody is able to say how much will yet be needed: Both 60 and 100 million are mentioned.

Meanwhile, the capacity of the station is not at all huge: the Gorkiy AST is called upon to provide heat only to the uphill part of the city (and then not all of it), where 350,000 persons reside. The population of Gorkiy amounts to more than 1.5 million people.... Next to the station, in a picturesque pine forest, sanatoriums and recreation facilities, pioneer camps and tourist hotels are located. The 100-meter-tall chimney of the station towers as a candle among the vegetable fields of a suburban sovkhos [state farm]. In addition, it came out recently that the self-cost of heat generated at the plant will be much higher than at conventional thermal stations. After all, as they say, there are alternative variants which are cheaper and ecologically safe.

For example, V. Troitskiy proposes to marshal the millions allocated for building the Gorkiy AST into reducing the losses of heat, one-fifth of which escapes

uselessly through the windows. It would suffice to use special glass which does not let through infrared rays—and the plant would not be needed.

Rector of the Gorkiy Engineering and Construction Institute Professor V. Naydenko and his colleagues determined that, at the expense of not more than 15 million rubles—not less than one-quarter of the sum which is to be used at the Gorkiy AST—a thermal station fueled by gas may be built close to the location where the nuclear heating plant is being erected. This can be done in an extremely short period of time, using the already installed infrastructural networks, pumping station, water treatment, energy, and other facilities. Later, it should be resolved with deliberation whether the AST should be built, whether a program of energy saving should be put in place, or whether some other variant is to be accepted. In any event, this powerful boiler plant will not at all be a luxury for the city which is growing fast—it will enable the city to develop new and promising subdivisions for construction. Not one of such proposals has been accepted.

Nonetheless, the behavior of those on whom it depends whether the AST is to be or not to be may be likened to the line from a fable: "You keep talking, and I'll keep doing what I am doing." Our colleagues, journalists from GORKOVSKAYA PRAVDA told us about how a second reactor was delivered to the AST in the environment of heightened secrecy. The newspapermen approached eight echelons, went all the way up to the deputy chairman of the city ispolkom [soviet executive committee], but still did not get the information. The citizens found out for the first time that the reactor already was in the city from the aforementioned "informals." How can the representatives of authorities be believed if they conceal the truth from the people?—the populace is outraged. This is where the source of the conflict is, as I see it.

To be sure, recently the position of local authorities has changed somewhat, and they have begun to turn toward the public. Chairman of the Gorkiy Oblast Ispolkom A. Sokolov assured his fellow citizens through the newspaper as early as in the fall: The oblast ispolkom will not consent to the commissioning of the station until a complete guarantee of its safety is provided. A special commission headed by the laureate of the Lenin Prize Academy Member G. Devyatykh was set up in order to monitor the quality of design solutions, assembly, and start-up and adjustment work. Along with the scientists, the commission includes a construction brigade leader, a fitter, and a grinder.

"The draft should definitely take into account the possibility of accidents and relevant safety measures," said V. Devyatykh when we met. "Also, we must keep in mind the fact that accidents usually occur not due to technical causes but due to the mistakes of personnel and unpredictable human behavior. I am in favor of the concept of a city-wide referendum. However, for this purpose the public should have complete and objective

information on the plant, and be aware of all the 'pro' and 'contra.' After all, public opinion may be erroneous when not prepared. Let us imagine: If a poll had been taken in the time of Copernicus, a majority would have, perhaps, said that the Sun revolved around the Earth...."

Thus far, the leaders of the oblast embarked on a compromise variant: They approached the government with a request to have the station inspected by the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]. The consent has been granted, despite the review costing hundreds of thousands of dollars. However, the residents of Gorkiy are still alarmed. Some still take a negative attitude; others are prepared to believe that a safe design of a nuclear station can be created, but have doubts about the work of people—builders and operating personnel. After all, the plant is not going to be staffed with the IAEA experts, but with our citizens—the very same people due to whose carelessness the cornices of houses fall off, the water supply mains burst, the pavement gives way under the feet of pedestrians, and tons of poisonous substances are discharged into the rivers and the air.... Alas, we should take into account our own negligence as well, paradoxical as it sounds. From the moral point of view as well, the final say should perhaps belong (of course, at a certain level of competence) to those who will live here rather than the overseas consultants. Meanwhile, the game of secrecy in Gorkiy goes on. Thus, at the last meeting of the public commission held on 17 April, Academy Member V. Devyatykh complained that the management of the plant refuses to provide documentation on the consequences of a possible, if only hypothetically, accident.

Who is going to respond to the doubts of people? Who will enlighten them, and provide the needed information? At the city committee of the party, I was told that special lectures devoted to the AST were planned for the lecturers and propagandists, but it did not go beyond good intentions.

What about the trade unions? What has been their position? What have they done in order to bring down the excessive wave of emotions, and channel the discussion into the dimension of arguments and facts? Alas, as Secretary of the Oblsovprof [Oblast Trade Union Council] A. Chichkanov stated, the trade unions have not entered into any discussions on the AST, and have no intention of doing so. The question is whether such a position of observer is permissible for the trade unions in these situations? Are they not losing their authority in this instance as well?

POW Release Committee Discusses Visit to Pakistan
LD1307003789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1704 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jul (TASS)—Correspondents Igor Agabekov and Igor Ivantsev report:

There is no such thing as someone else's grief; this was the leitmotiv of a press conference held today by the Nadezhda people's committee for the release of Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan. Members of the committee told Soviet and foreign journalists about their 3-week trip to Pakistan.

Before the trip to Pakistan, Iona Andronov, the committee's cochairman, said, we sent a message to Benazir Bhutto, the Pakistan prime minister, asking her, out of humanitarian considerations, as a mother, to allow the committee's delegation to travel to Pakistan and meet leaders of the Afghan armed opposition, which is holding captured Soviet prisoners of war.

The purpose of such a meeting, Iona Andronov said, was to find a point of contact of interests with them in order to get the release of Soviet people.

The first meetings with leaders of the Peshawar Seven dispelled the illusions that members of the delegation held regarding the possibility of a quick solution to this problem. The leaders of the Afghan armed opposition put forward unrealistic demands and made, sharply, anti-Soviet pronouncements. However, further meetings showed that it is possible and necessary to hold a dialogue with them which might eventually lead to the release of the Soviet prisoners of war.

The first step in this direction has been taken. The agreement of the leaders of the Peshawar Seven has been achieved on a possible formula for an exchange of prisoners of war. In connection with the fact that there are also Soviet prisoners of war in the hands of a number of opposition field commanders, the delegation is planning to travel to Afghanistan in the near future, to discuss this problem with the Afghan leadership.

Speaking at the press conference, mothers of Soviet servicemen being held prisoner particularly pointed out the warm reception extended to the delegation by representatives of the Pakistan public, who had taken their grief close to heart. Activists of Pakistan's women's movement assured members of the delegation that they intended to set up their own committee to rescue the Soviet prisoners of war and to facilitate their location, speedy release, and return home.

World Council of Churches Holds Moscow Meeting
*LD1707114989 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Anna Grigoriyev:

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches has opened its session today. About 400 religious figures have come to attend it.

On the eve of the session Metropolitan of Minsk and Byelorussia Filaret, who is member of the holy synod of the Russian Orthodox church, told TASS that it was for the first time in the history of the ecumenical movement that the World Council of Churches Central Committee was holding its session in Moscow.

Metropolitan Filaret noted with satisfaction the results of the recent Moscow meeting of women, involved in the ecumenical movement. The executive committee's work was also a success at the Moscow Theological Academy.

Russian Orthodox Church workers meet the dear guests with satisfaction and joy, the metropolitan said. Among them—the Patriarch of Antioch and all the East His Holiness Ignatius the Fourth, Patriarch-Catholicos of all Georgia Iliya the Second, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches Dr. Emilio Castro, President of the Christian Peace Conference Bishop Karoly Toth, Moderator of the World Council of Churches Central Committee Dr. Heinz Joachim Held.

The meeting of the World Council of Churches Central Committee is attracting profound interest since it is being held in the capital of the country where perestroika is under way in the spirit of democracy and public openness, Metropolitan Filaret said.

The World Council of Churches Central Committee will be in session from July 17 to 26.

Khrushchev's Grandson Evaluates Khrushchev Era
*LD0308102689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 2 Aug 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] "Khrushchev: Those 10 Years" is the name of an artistic and public exhibition which has opened at the Moscow Palace of Youth.

[Correspondent Natalya Chernova] Well, this museum is well known to Moscow people and, as we say, to the many guests of the capital. I know from my own personal experience that the interior of the communal kitchen which is a preliminary to this exhibition, has been reproduced with sufficient accuracy: The lamp glows dimly; it is uncomfortable and damp in this big room. Only there, through the window, the distant and fine future flickers vaguely, the future which all of us without exception are to experience. [video shows communal kitchen and the "bright future" which lies through the window].

But the 20th congress of the party would come. Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev makes his historic report, and the false and frightful idol is overthrown. [video shows photo of Khrushchev addressing congress, and shows PRAVDA photos of new leaders, as well as toppled statues]

And it seems that the fine future has drawn near. A precise date for its advent was even named—1980. [video shows wall poster bearing Khrushchev's promise to have done away with all churchmen by 1980]

Yes, Khrushchev at times made ill-considered promises, but he gave millions of people an opportunity to live in a normal way—maybe in small and cramped, but nonetheless separate apartments. [video shows exhibition stills of Khrushchev era housing projects]

Those 10 years—space and the Hungarian events; the international contest of musicians which resounded to the whole world, and the rout at a Manege exhibition of artists who risked thinking in a nontraditional way. [video shows exhibition photos of Khrushchev with Gagarin and with a satellite in hand; there are also photos of the events in Hungary, of Van Cliburn at the Chaykovskiy music contest, and of Khrushchev in a rage at an art exhibition]

One of the artists sculpted a tombstone of black and white marble for Khrushchev's grave—the two people in dark and bright hue who are on the photo-montage of the exhibition's poster. [video shows photos of Ernst Bezysvestnyy and of the tombstone] But many people consider that Khrushchev was an integral personality who believed wholeheartedly in the correctness of what he was doing, although he later repented of many things. [video shows photo of Khrushchev meeting John F. Kennedy, and also shows crowds in the exhibition hall]

A group of young enthusiasts led by playwright Aleksandr Gafin organized the exhibition. And Nikita Adzhubiy, Khrushchev's grandson, was an advisor. [video shows organizers of exhibition, leading into an interview with Adzhubiy]

[Begin recording] [Chernova] Nikita Alekseyevich, you engage in and are interested in history. Tell me, from the point of view of an historian, what do you think? What was Nikita Sergeyevich's main mistake—leaving aside personal feelings, that is?

[Adzhubiy] The most major problem and the most major mistake, if one can call it that, was the concept of a dash forward to communism. As a participant in the revolution, he sincerely wanted to bring the cause to a logical conclusion, to build communism. That, in itself, is a very good idea but in real life it was, of course, a very large miscalculation. And all the actions which took place then proceeded from this concept, from this model. True, at the end of his stay in power, Nikita Sergeyevich understood that this was, in general, an incorrect concept, and began to depart from it and quests were initiated. But there was no time; October 1964 came. [video shows photo of Khrushchev as a pensioner and a portrait of Brezhnev decorated with medals.] [end recording] [Chernova] Maybe not everything at the exhibition will be understandable to the young people for whom it has really been created. But that is not so bad. It will force

everybody to learn, to reflect, and to analyse. And that is the most important thing. [video shows young and old people looking at the exhibits]

First Cooperators' Trade Union Established

LD3007214789 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Leningrad July 30 TASS—The first Soviet Trade Union of Cooperators with its own regional committee has been set up in Leningrad, the country's second largest city. It was established at a conference here attended by 136 representatives of 35,000 Leningrad cooperators. The conference elected the union's leading bodies and delegates to a forthcoming inter-union conference which is due to take place in Leningrad. Attending the conference were some 100 guests representing cooperatives of numerous other cities and towns of the Soviet Union.

"An important step has been taken towards the establishment of a republican trade union organization of cooperators in the Russian Federation. We are now conducting negotiations concerning this subject with the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), and planning to hold our own constituent assembly in the autumn of this year," said Aleksandr Pukhov, a leader of the newly-established trade union. "Ours will differ from existing sectoral trade unions by the fact that its members will be united not on the basis of their belonging to a trade or speciality but on the basis of their relation to ownership. The cooperators trade union will focus its activity on the social and legal protection of its members. Cooperators will be free to choose what trade union to join—their own or sectoral, as is stipulated in the soviet law on cooperatives.

A preliminary agreement with the All-Union Central Committee of Soviet Trade Unions has been reached on the transfer to the newly-established cooperators trade union of some sectoral trade union resorts. The legal ground for this transfer is provided by the fact that as former members of sectoral trade unions cooperators are entitled to "inherit" part of the fees they paid.

NOVY MIR To Publish Solzhenitsyn Works

LD0208024489 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—In August the Moscow literary journal "NOVY MIR" (THE NEW WORLD) will begin publishing Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's novel "Gulag Archipelago", never published in the USSR before. The journal will also acquaint the readers with his novels as "The First Circle" and "Cancer Ward".

"Restructuring, openness and the process of democratization in our society have given millions of Soviet people the opportunity to judge for themselves, not from hearsay evidence, about Solzhenitsyn's writing gift and ideological convictions", Vadim Borisov, the journal's editor, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

Solzhenitsyn has authorized Borisov and Sergey Zalygin, NOVY MIR editor-in-chief to deal with the publication of his books in the USSR.

"If all of Solzhenitsyn's works had been published in this country in their time, had not been banned, Russian prose would be entirely different today," Borisov thinks.

Several other Soviet literary journals have already announced plans to start publishing Solzhenitsyn's works. For instance, the monthly journals "NEVA" and "ZVEZDA" in Leningrad will feature this and next year Solzhenitsyn's novels "March of 1917" and "August of 1914". A collection of the writer's works is being prepared by Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishers.

Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the USSR fifteen years ago. The secretariat of the board of the Union of Writers last month revoked the 1969 decision to expel Solzhenitsyn from the organization as incorrect and contrary to the principles of socialist democracy. The writers who are people's deputies of the USSR are to raise in the USSR Supreme Soviet the need to repeal the 12 February, 1974 decree of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, stripping Solzhenitsyn of his Soviet citizenship and banishing him from the country.

Professor Discusses Liberalization of Emigration
18120107 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 28, 16-23 Jul 89 p 13

[Article by Professor Vladimir Kartashkin, LL.D., of the Institute of State and Laws: "The Doors Open Ever So Slightly"]

[Text] Last year 1.8 million people traveled to and from the Soviet Union on private visas: six times the number of private trips in 1986. A total of 106,000 Soviet citizens emigrated in 1988—18 times the number for 1986. To simplify the procedure for issuing the necessary papers and thus bring Soviet legal regulations in conformity with the Vienna accords, new legislation has been drafted to cover entry to and exit from the USSR. For several months, the draft was being prepared by representatives of various ministries and departments, including the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, the Ministry of Justice, as well as by independent scholars.

At present, to leave the country on a short private trip one needs an invitation from a foreign sponsor. According to the draft, no invitation will be needed for short private trips, but this will still be obligatory for people leaving this country to settle abroad permanently.

The draft proposes to issue foreign passports to citizens wanting to make several private journeys abroad. As for the duration of stay on temporary visits abroad, the draft proposes to limit them to three months and extend the term if need be to two or three years.

At the moment, OVIR (the Department of Visas and Registration) issues a foreign passport on the basis of an invitation and a special form, if there are no reasons forbidding the journey, for example, the applicant's familiarity with state secrets. The applicant's employers inform the internal affairs department in case of a security risk.

The draft legislation limits the term of the state security factor to five years. By and large, this complies with international practice. Yet, according to Yuri Reshetov, chief of the Department for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "in special cases this term can be extended, the decision being made at the highest level of state authority."

Until recently, if a citizen was denied permission to travel abroad, he or she could complain to OVIR and a special commission of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. If the commission's decision was negative, the person could only complain to the same instances after a certain time. The draft legislation proposes to retain the existing procedure for the appeal, although the commission will now be operating under the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"In my opinion, these questions must be tackled by experts," said Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Department of Visas and Passports of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. "Practice has shown that the commission of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet reviewed the appeals very carefully, while the ministries and departments thoroughly prepared for such revisions, weighing all the pros and cons."

Yuri Reshetov doesn't think the court can discuss such cases because of their special nature. To support his viewpoint he referred to international legal documents, according to which cases of this kind can be reviewed either in a court of law or through administrative channels.

"Some responsible officials in ministries and departments believe that all the rights are granted to human beings by the state," Vladimir Kartashkin said to MOSCOW NEWS. "But the right to leave a country is a natural right every human being has from birth. Therefore, in my opinion, the activities of OVIR (the Department of Visas and Registration) should be to register rather than grant permission. A foreign passport should be issued on the basis of a personal application, without any so-called 'private pretext'."

"The limit of temporary sojourn abroad should coincide with the expiration date of one's passport—for example, five years. Of course, during that term, the passport holder must have the right to travel freely without asking for special permission. He/she ought to simply get a visa from the host country."

"As to the procedure for appealing against non-issue of a Soviet foreign passport (the one needed to travel abroad—Ed.), these matters should be litigated in a court of law, I think. Especially because, according to international legal practice, the court can review cases involving national securing in camera. One of the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet is also expected to hold private hearings.

"In any case, the period during which the foreign passport can be denied for security reasons, should be fixed, and under no circumstances extended. At the moment, the permission to leave the country is for the most part denied engineers, technical experts and scientists. It is well known, however, that the most advanced developments in science and technology become obsolete in three to five years. Why should people be denied exit longer than this?

"One final remark. We scholars were certainly familiarized with the draft legislation. But in this particular case scholarly opinion was listened to, but for the most part ignored. The final working remained the responsibility of the apparatus. Therefore I'm very glad the drafting took so long. Now at least the new legislation will be reviewed by the Commission of People's Deputies and adopted by the Supreme Soviet."

'Death of Communism' Articles Rebutted

18070688 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian
No 27, 30 Jun-6 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Iordanskiy under the rubric "Ideas and Opinions": "Time of Revival"]

[Text] In May and June a number of important periodical publications in the West carried articles devoted to a common theme. The theme—"the death of communism." The funeral feast was celebrated by authors of the British Sunday newspaper THE SUNDAY TIMES, the American weekly NEWSWEEK, and several other American and West European publications.

In an editorial article of THE SUNDAY TIMES, headed "Communism...Sleep in Peace," in particular, it was asserted: "For the whole world, communism has ceased being something that should be adopted or something that should be imitated; it has lost any kind of a connection with changes for the better, or even with the best human aspirations.... It is possible that communism, the ideology, which began this century literally as the wave of the future, will not be with us in any recognizable form by the beginning of the next century."

The newspaper continues further:

"The inevitability of the historical collapse of communism is now at hand (applying its own lexicon of Marxism). The communist ideology was always more about economics rather than about politics. It subordinates

political freedom to the economic imperative. Nonetheless, it proved in its short history to be incapable of competing with the Western democratic system, which, although it was a political one first and foremost, its economic nature was sufficiently pragmatic to be able to vacillate between the market and state interference, depending on the mood of the voters."

An article in the journal NEWSWEEK adds little to the declaration of the editor of THE SUNDAY TIMES. But, nonetheless, I would like to quote one or two points from this commentary. The first concerns the "nature" of communism, as it is seen—prejudicially—by the author. He writes: "The idea of communism held the globe under its influence for about a century. It attracted the poor, because it gave them hope for the future. Owing to the organizational and revolutionary genius of Lenin, the Communist Party became a weapon for those who wanted to take and retain authority. He possessed an ideological—and spiritual—magnetic force for millions of those who believed in the simple and alluring idea that an egalitarian state could exist without a government and without money."

The inference is categorical: "In the approaching centuries, communism, it seems, will be looked upon by compilers of dictionaries almost as we look at alchemy today."

I beg your pardon for such long quotations. But they are interesting, and the views expressed in them should be known: not only because of their contents, which make out the idea and teaching of scientific socialism to be primitive, but even because of the style and tone—the spirit of intolerance, and the malicious joy of today's critics and opponents of communism.

This is not the first time that capitalism is making arrangements for a sensational burial of communism. The intolerance of the bourgeois for the ideology which embodies people's aspirations for social justice does not get weaker with time. And, it seems, that we do not have a right to forget this, when we talk about the primacy of universal human values in today's world. Not to forget that our ideological adversaries are not fully convinced, and that they are approaching us with old standards. According to measures of old thinking and old stereotypes.

It should be said that the perestroika taking place in the Soviet Union, which has evoked great interest in wide circles of the Western public, has resulted in a polarization of opinions in ruling circles. And this is understandable. Perestroika, especially in the sphere of Soviet foreign policy and the new approach that our country has formulated, which comes out of the new thinking,—“to ensure genuine peaceful coexistence and to remove ideology from relations between states”—confronts them with the need to make new decisions. Decisions that are frequently difficult for the West, and that require not

simply a revision of former political and military-strategic aims, but also infringement on the specific interests of financial-industrial groups.

And one more consideration. Leading political and state figures of the West admit that the myth about a Soviet military threat cannot be kept alive any longer. The recent visit of M.S. Gorbachev to the FRG confirmed that a new climate is setting in the center of the European continent—one of sincere mutual interest and readiness for cooperation, and that the feeling of mutual suspicion and fear is disappearing. In this atmosphere, increasing attention is being given to the creative capabilities of human history's first socialist society.

An intellectual dialogue is being reestablished between the West and the East, which had practically stopped during the period of stagnation. It is being promoted by the fact that lively Marxist thought, which was almost extinguished during the period of stagnation, has livened up in recent years. During the course of discussions in our country, ideas are being worked up which will enable socialism in the Soviet Union, including theoretical socialism, to move to a new and qualitatively higher level.

Sometimes the uncompromising search of our collective thought irritates even our friends, whose socio-historical experience differs sharply from ours. Their questions, and sometimes even doubts, require earnest discussion and a carefully thought-out answer on our part. But for the traditional anticommunists and apologists for capitalism, the intellectual renewal of socialism also engenders a reaction of intolerance and fear.

It is typical that the choral burial service for communism is accompanied by very specific political recommendations that are addressed to statesmen in the West. They contain proposals to return once more to the tactics and strategy of the "cold war" in the approach to the Soviet Union. In this issue of our newspaper, the reader can acquaint himself, in particular, with an interview that R. Perle, a former assistant U.S. Secretary of Defense in the Reagan administration, gave to the West German journal SPIEGEL. His Philippics concerning the Soviet Union evoke barely concealed sneers among experienced West German journalists.

As can be seen, although the "cold war" is receding into the past, its trenches are not yet covered up.

But let us return once again to the question of the "death of communism."

It was not long ago that the thought of the possibility of a crisis in the development of socialist society would have been assessed as blasphemy. The development of socialist society was depicted by our official science as a steady upward movement along a smoothly carpeted stairway of progress.

Now we are learning to understand the contradictions that are peculiarly inherent in socialist society, and which are characteristic for its historical path. On coming out of the period of stagnation, we discovered that the progress of productive forces was being impeded by an obsolete administrative-command system of economic management. At a certain stage, as it now becomes more and more apparent, the natural process of forming socialist nations and national character was violated grossly, and interethnic relations in a number of regions of the country were poisoned by lawlessness and administrative arbitrary rule. The infringement of socialist democracy engendered such social manifestations as political apathy.

But the thinking of society did not stop at ascertaining errors and omissions, it went further. The Congress of People's Deputies accumulated the expectations of the broad masses, it gave a tremendous creative impulse to the social conscience, and it made an enormous contribution to the search for constructive resolutions of the many tasks that confronted us.

The adversaries of communism have been trying for a long time to present it as an artificial outcome of several thinker-idealists, as a purely ideological construction, and a force that united rebels against this social reality. They would like to see a corroboration of their old attacks on communism in the difficulties of renewal that are now being endured by the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries. But history proves again and again that a socialist society is a real alternative to a capitalist society. Communism was and remains a pledge that the aspiration of people for social justice will come true.

Aftermath of Gas Well Explosion Described 18220173 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 Second Edition p 8

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent I. Lakhno: "Kharkov and Poltava Oblasts": "One Step Away From Trouble"]

[Text] During the testing of a new gas well, an explosion occurred, and a terrifying whirlwind burst out to freedom from the bowels of the earth under tremendous pressure.

...I came to the location of the accident when the main events were already over. The workers, tired and still keyed up after the fight with the lethal gusher, animatedly discussed all the tribulations of this incredible day, having tossed their mittens and helmets on the grass.

The day crew of five was carrying on the usual work when driller G. Shkurpela sensed a change of some kind in the behavior of the well. It seemed to Grigoriy Petrovich that the soil underfoot was shaking. Something was going on down there, in the depths. You can guess what exactly was going on.

At this point, the mangled mouth of the well burst as if a volcano had erupted. The testing personnel made a desperate attempt to put on "the reigns"—a shut-off device, but in vain.

The gas flare soared into the sky at 1120, and at 1300 a militarized detachment for the prevention and elimination of oil and gas eruptions of the USSR Mingeo [Ministry of Geology] arrived from Kharkov, having covered 100 km. Subsequently, another similar detachment arrived swiftly from Poltava. Just a few minutes were given in order to determine the scope of the accident and the sequence of actions aimed at eliminating it. At this point, the huge stream of gas had not yet become a fiery flare. However, this could happen at any moment. They called the firefighters on the radio.

However, people were the primary concern. The commanders were concerned less about those who prepared for combating the fire "at close quarters"—the people in the detachments are experienced and excellently trained. However, the fact that the well was in the vicinity of three villages, all of them less than a kilometer away, caused apprehensions. Dosimeter operators quickly went to Komsomolskoye, Kosturovka, and Shevchenkovo. Despite determining that the gas content was low, and posed no danger to the life and health of people, they remained there and tested the air continuously until the accident was fully taken care of. The leadership of the rayon headed by First Secretary of the Krasnokutskiy Raykom [rayon committee] of the party S. Lyashko visited all the farmsteads, calmed the people, and prepared everything for their immediate evacuation in the event of unexpected complications.

Fire engines encircled the well continuously pouring water on it so that a stray spark from a car or a bulldozer would not cause major trouble.

Before the well is shut down, gas pressure in it should be abruptly reduced if possible. They built a special pipe bend to the so-called flare line. This is where the main gas stream was directed. This is where it was set on fire, so that less harmful emissions would be discharged into the atmosphere.

The decisive moment came. The success of taming the elements on the first try hinged on the coordination and efficiency of actions by the militarized detachments of Ya. Vasilik and N. Fesenko. Squad Leader V. Shcherbak, his assistants I. Vorobyev, I. Agapov, A. Kovalivskiy, and other soldiers in gas masks rushed into the very hell. The leaders of the operation understood that it had worked from the howling of the gas "burner" which was becoming less and less audible. The shut-off device was put on and anchored on the first try. Later, liquid concrete was poured over the mouth of the well. One hundred cubic meters of concrete were prepared overnight in one truck-mounted mixer.

Sometimes, recovering from such accidents takes days and even weeks. In this case, they managed in one day. It did not come to the loss of life or complete decommissioning of a promising well. It will yet be prepared for operation.

Chief Engineer for Well Testing of the Poltava Gas Prospecting Expedition V. Zakhvatayev says:

"I am certain that the testing crew themselves would have prevented the accident had they had handy the so-called fountain stop-valve fittings made by the O.Yu. Shmidt Baku Plant. However, for some reason, we have not been getting these devices since last year. Instead, they've been sending us imported devices. They cost four times more than the domestic ones. Not less than an hour is needed in an emergency in order to plug the well with this device. The Baku 'lock' may be installed within 15 minutes. At the very beginning of the accident, these were the very minutes which we lacked."

So, as they say, there is some food for thought.

Brochure on Party Restructuring Published

LD0108044489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1950 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] A brochure has been published entitled "Restructuring of the Work of the Party—the Major Key Task of the Day: Conference at the CPSU Central Committee of First Secretaries of the Central Committees of Communist Parties of Union Republics, Kray Committees and Oblast Committees of the Party on 18 July 1989." It contains the report and concluding speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other materials of the conference at the CPSU Central Committee devoted to questions of party work in conditions of perestroika.

Geographical Society To Publish Magazine

LD0308024289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1253 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 2 Aug (TASS)—The new magazine "USSR: The World of Geography" will make it possible to broaden the vision of the Soviet Union's rich nature and of the peoples inhabiting the country. The first issue of the publication to be brought out by the USSR geographical soviet and the Vneshtorgizdat association has already been prepared for print. [passage omitted]

Economic

Academician Aganbegyan Prescribes Cure for Economy

PM0408082589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Academician A. Aganbegyan by Ye. Manucharova under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Where Can We Find Billions?"—date and place unspecified]

[Text] [Manucharova] Abel Gezevich! The vicious circle we have created for ourselves—we have no funds, without them the economy cannot be improved, but if the

economy is not improved there will be no funds—is now the subject of stormy discussions. Various moves are being proposed, but there are no firm guarantees. What is your concept? Is there a way out of this blind alley?

[Aganbegyan] In my view, it's not a blind alley. Even though the situation in the country does have to be described as a profound financial crisis. Finances are just the tip of the national economic iceberg. This has to be clearly understood when seeking solutions.

The most important thing now is to saturate the consumer market, make it balanced, and bring effective demand into line with volumes of goods and services.

In my view it is categorically impossible to raise prices—this would reduce the already low living standard of most people. Moreover, we are suffering from inflation—the devaluation of money. Last year, the inflation rate increased to 8-9 percent. Of this, 5 percent was the result of direct price rises without the state's consent, while 4 percent was the result of money being devalued by a rise in the amount of money in circulation not backed up by goods.

Inflation has brought about a dangerous process—a “flight from money.” People want to convert their dwindling money into something more solid—they therefore buy up virtually everything they can in the stores. And this has led to almost universal shortages, the collapse of the official consumer market, and the burgeoning of the shadow economy and the black market.

[Manucharova] But what is being compared with what? How many goods do we need and how much money do we and the entire population have at our disposal?

[Aganbegyan] The population's total monetary income is around R400 billion a year (paid to the population in the form of wages and pensions). The population has roughly another R400 billion. Roughly speaking, three-fourths of this sum is in savings accounts and the rest is in people's pockets and money boxes. R100-150 billion is actually mobile. If goods were produced they would be snapped up straightaway.

These mobile funds are an excess that puts pressure on trade turnover. The program is to ensure that this money is “tied up” and is used not for the black market but for those useful applications which are more advantageous to people than goods. Then the market will be better balanced.

[Manucharova] The population has many needs. The main need is that most of the population have neither a money box nor a savings account.

[Aganbegyan] Yes. And the state has to pay quite a large sum of money to those who are particularly hard hit by inflation. These are people on fixed incomes—pensioners and workers with stable, relatively low, or hourly

wage rates. In short, the less well-off. We must not take measures to improve our finances without being concerned about them. Thus, we have to solve not one but two interdependent problems—“tying up” the money of those who have money (naturally, to their benefit and advantage) and simultaneously sharply improving the lives of the less well-off.

These are my proposals. First—to reduce budget expenditure and cut total production investment by at least 20 percent. That amounts to R25 billion a year.

[Manucharova] But how will that be done?

[Aganbegyan] There are several ways. The first is to ensure that capital investment from the budget is recouped. If a sum is borrowed for certain purposes, it later has to be paid back. For instance, if a region orders a canal and asks for R3 billion it should sign an undertaking that it will pay the money back within a certain period, giving figures for each year on when payment will be made, how much will be paid, and how it will be financed. These figures will be checked by experts. If debts are not going to be written off, the large number of unpromising ventures will immediately fall off. A tax could be imposed on production investment when new buildings are built. We need strict administrative measures to cut down on new building projects and reduce spending.

I have just chaired a State Planning Committee state expert appraisal commission [Gosekspertiza]. We examined the capital investment plan for the next 5-year plan. We cut it by 15 percent against what had been proposed, and we could have gone further.

Of the R25 billion released, R10 billion ought to be put into housing construction. This money should also be used to obtain more materials (linoleum, timber, and glass). What about the shortages? In a state such as ours these things should be obtainable given a certain amount of work. R10 billion will allow us to build 30 billion square meters of housing—or 2 million rooms.

These rooms should be sold to the population without under any circumstances adversely affecting the housing lists [ochered] at executive committees and establishments. These rooms for sale will be used to improve the conditions of and resettle families. Families will give up what they have (a two-room state apartment, for instance) and for an additional payment (the price of the new room) they will receive the extra space they need—a three-room state-cooperative apartment. By no means everyone has enough money for a whole cooperative apartment, but they should have the R5,000 for a room....

We need to sell in such a way that it is advantageous to both sides. We should obtain a full sum for the apartments allocated this year. And we should immediately sell additional housing for the next 5 years. Initially we should demand just part of the cost—the rest can be paid in years to come.

This is a large state job. We should not sell rooms any old way or in the back of beyond. People should know the address, the type of block, and the floor plan of their future home—for their money they have the right to choose.

After this the future owners should be given an official **certificate**. This is a no-risk contract between the future resident and the state. People can use it to demand their money back at any time, while, naturally, losing their place on the list of people waiting to buy. It is important that the certificates will be nontransferable—speculation is ruled out.

This maneuver will allow us to "tie up" R30 billion.

The state should also take one other shortage—motor vehicles—in hand. A million cars (including second-hand cars) are sold every year. This all involves corruption and speculation. All those waiting to buy cars should have to pay in full in advance—the state will again be guarantor of this money, issuing a certificate. Thus, waiting lists will be normalized and stabilized through 1995. The R3-5 billion in released investment and construction capacity should be used to build garages (another shortage) for the population and sell them for R2,000 each. There is currently a requirement for 10 million garages. The sales will produce R20 billion in 2-3 years. We also need to increase the provision of garden plots and truck gardens to the population.

State loans should be extended to cover telephone apparatus, resort establishments (the construction of family boarding houses, for instance), video equipment, furniture, and so forth. The population will then participate in meeting in an organized fashion the demand for all kinds of goods that are in short supply. As a result R120 billion and more could be "tied up."

A great deal of work is currently being done to expand consumer goods production. However, this is being done to a considerable extent using administrative methods. It is important and possible to reinforce this pressure with real economic interest. The idea behind incentives is to leave producers with some real [zhivoy] money.

Another reserve is to double imports of consumer goods. These now account for 15 percent of the country's total imports. We must raise this figure to 30 percent. This is possible if we cut imports of wheat for feed, metal products, and certain types of equipment. This will delay the construction of some plants by up to 3 years, but we have to take such a measure in the complex situation in which we find ourselves. It will not be a tragedy....

[Manucharova] This sounds like "pie in the sky." Everybody wants to increase imports, but people keep hearing that it's impossible.

[Aganbegyan] It is impossible if we follow the old route: in other words, if we build up our foreign economic debt, which has reached a critical size. But it is wholly possible if we cut imports of producer goods and expand imports of consumer goods, if only for the next 3-5 years.

[Manucharova] Why are you not worried about imports increasing speculation under our conditions of shortages?

[Aganbegyan] That will be the case if we leave the old mechanism in place and channel imports through the trading network. But it is possible to create a different mechanism. We need a special fund of high-quality goods that are in particularly short supply in our trade turnover. To this end Soviet goods in high demand—those that sell on a par with imports—will be added to imports. The special fund could amount to R60-80 billion. Apart from the ordinary trading network, it will be distributed in catalogs, as is the case worldwide.

People can buy the catalogs themselves (for about R20) or consult them for free at their enterprise library. You choose what you need (clothes or furniture, for instance) and send an order. Anyone in the country can send off for anything on an equal footing with everyone else.

Naturally, such a business would require the creation of a **consortium** (based on Soviet and foreign firms), a joint-stock enterprise with its own foreign exchange and separate network for dispatching the goods. The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply system could provide such a network.

The consortium would give the country an additional advantage—it would accurately record the population's demand (this is currently determined by civil servants).

Another proposal is to increase people's interest in savings accounts and for "mobile money" to be deposited there. We should increase the interest rates on savings accounts and set up special high-yield accounts. But the term for these accounts should not be a year, as it currently is for term accounts, but higher. On the other hand, such accounts will pay a high rate of interest. And we should again issue advantageous loans. It would be right also to sharply expand the sphere of cashless check transactions.

These are first-stage programs, they will make it possible to saturate the market within 3 years. Then it will be possible to move to the second, more serious stage. Then we will be able to normalize retail prices (in a convenient form for the population!), reduce the proportion of centralized prices, expand the proportion of freer prices.... But that is a job for the future, it will only be possible after saturating the market with goods.

[Manucharova] What about the fight against poverty? You have said that there is such a program.

[Aganbegyan] I want to come to that. But I should explain what the basis for this will be. Thus, we will "tie up" R120 billion of the population's excess cash and add to it tens of billions of rubles obtained from consumer goods and paid services. (As you can understand, these will increase, given the additional incentives and the doubling of imports). This sum will make it possible without in any way violating market equilibrium to find around R30 billion in order to substantially improve people's living standard. A new pensions law needs to be fully introduced. It would be expedient to increase the size of the minimum wage to R100 and to set the level of minimum tax-free income at R150 at least. It is very important to increase benefits payable to large families and single mothers.

But in the fight against poverty, state help alone is not enough. We need to involve all enterprises and labor collectives in this program. I think it will not be so hard for them to help the members of their collectives.

[Manucharova] It seems to me that you've only been talking about part of a broader program.

[Aganbegyan] Undoubtedly. For instance, I deliberately avoided the question of dividing up the efforts of the center, the republics, and local organs. But it is clear that all these levels should be brought into play.

I propose the following as an urgent measure. We should switch to better-founded economic regulators of wage fund dynamics. This means introducing a progressive tax on the growth of the total labor remuneration fund, restricting its growth to an average of 4-6 percent a year. In the first form of economic accountability the norms for shaping the wages fund would be established not on the basis of fictitious indicators (such as the volume of construction and installation work) but on the basis of the actual results of economic management (in construction, for instance, on the basis of the commissioning of finished buildings). After all, even today billions of rubles are being spent for nothing.

Under no circumstances would I claim to have made any special "discoveries." I decided to set forth here my proposals—proposals which have long been maturing but have now become particularly urgent. As an economist I am keenly aware that the situation in the country requires the most resolute steps: to delay would be fatal.

Banks Lack Ready Cash for Wage Payments

18280161 Moscow TRUD in Russian
28 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with S.A. Arzhavkin, head of the AUCCTU Department of Production and Mass Work and Wages, by TRUD correspondent V. Golovachev; date, place not specified: "It Is Inadmissible To Delay the Payment of Wages"]

[Text] Recently, a phenomenon as alarming and inadmissible as the refusal of banks to provide money for the payrolls of labor collectives due to the absence of ready

cash has become increasingly widespread. This is reported in numerous letters and telegrams addressed to the TRUD editorial office and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]. What are the causes of the situation which has emerged? What are the trade unions doing in conjunction with this? A TRUD correspondent approached Head of the AUCCTU Department of Production and Mass Work and Wages S.A. Arzhavkin with these questions.

"The situation emerging with the payment of wages is not just abnormal, it is an emergency," he said. "It has been exacerbated in conjunction with the overall deterioration of the financial situation in the country. The rapidly growing shortage of consumer goods brings about the banks not taking in cash in necessary amounts. On the other hand, more than R100 billion are not covered by the deliveries of goods, and this aggravates the shortage still further. A vicious circle emerges; this spiral revolves increasingly faster, and the situation becomes increasingly grave. If there is no payroll money issued as required (issuance of bills not covered by goods), this in turn brings about a further deterioration of the financial situation, increased inflation, exacerbation of the merchandise shortage, new lack of money, and so forth.

As is known, measures aimed at ameliorating the financial situation in the country have now been planned, including conversion (a partial switch by the military industry to producing consumer goods) and restructuring of the national economy. However, time is needed for these measures to produce results. Thus far, the situation with the payment of salaries has been deteriorating, which is inadmissible.

[Golovachev] The editorial office has approached the USSR State Bank with a request to provide data on the scope of this phenomenon, that is, how many cases of delays in the payment of wages have occurred and what the amounts have been. We have not been successful in obtaining this information. Do you have such data?

[Arzhavkin] Certainly. Prior to 1 June (I do not have more recent materials yet), there had been more than 35,000 cases when enterprises and organizations were not issued money for the payment of wages in a timely manner. In the process, the delays frequently amounted to 3 or 4 days, and on occasion 1 week.

In May alone, a total of R405.7 million was not paid on schedule. The delays in the payment of wages affect the interests of millions upon millions of people. Many people live from payday to payday, and the postponement of payments by several days puts a family in a difficult situation.

[Golovachev] TRUD receives letters concerning wages from various republics and oblasts of our country, but most are from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. Do we have republics where there have not been delays with wages?

[Arzhavkin] I do not have statistics for Estonia only, but in all other republics a good number of such cases have occurred. If we look at the absolute numbers, the quotas not issued on time are the greatest in the RSFSR—in May, R211.7 millions, in the Ukraine—R69.1 million, Kazakhstan—R41.1 million. I would also mention here the Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]; in May, R21.4 million were paid with delays there.

In May through July of this year, the payment of wages has been delayed, and is being delayed at present, in virtually all cities of the Russian Federation. Some cities have been continuously in need of above-the-plan issuance of currency. For example, in Chelyabinsk Oblast, issuance during the half-year amounted to R130 million, and in Tomsk Oblast—R65 million. It has come to the point when even employees of medical facilities who earn as little as nurse aids and janitors cannot be paid wages on time.

The situation in Latvia is better than elsewhere: In May, only R302,000 in wages were delayed there.

[Golovachev] You have said that you have generalized data only as of 1 June. At the same time, you are referring to the exacerbation of the situation. What is the basis for this assertion?

[Arzhavkin] Current data. Here is a telegram just received from Tomsk: "Intolerable situation with the payment of wages has emerged in the collectives of the oblast. The request of the party obkom [oblast committee] and oblast ispolkom [soviet executive committee] leadership for above-the-plan issuance has not been met. The threat of strikes is evident. Secretary of the Tomsk Oblsovsprof [Oblast Council of Trade Unions] Korneyeva."

In July alone, telegrams about delays in the payment of wages due to the lack of balance between the cash plan and merchandise turnover plan have been received from the Arkhangelsk, Gorkiy, Omsk, Penza, and other obls-ovprofs. A difficult situation with the payment of wages has emerged at the enterprises of Tyumen Oblast, especially in its northern areas, where, according to a message from the obls-ovprof, people spend weeks standing in lines for wages.

The payment of wages to the toilers of Kemerovo Oblast has been delayed continuously. For example, the Kholmogorovo Opencast Mines No 1 and 2 received wages 3 days later than the collective contract provided for.

In the Ukraine, the number of cases of delays in the payment of wages exceeded 16,000 in the first half-year.

The situation is similar in other regions as well.

In June, all construction and assembly organizations of Dzhuzkazgan had their salaries delayed—in a number of cases, for 9 days; the production and construction association "Birobidzhanstroy" by 10 days, and a design institute in Moscow by 12 days....

A similar picture is found at the Yaroslavl Fuel Equipment Plant, the Ulyanovsk Engine Plant, and the "UralAZ" association.

[Golovachev] What are the trade unions doing in this regard?

[Arzhavkin] Our position is firm and unambiguous: Delays with the payment of wages are inadmissible. People who have done their job honestly should receive everything they have made exactly on time and in full. Some finance employees tell us: Look at it from my point of view. The financial situation in the country is extremely complex, and additional issuance of currency will only exacerbate it. However, this approach is inadmissible. Everyone should be responsible for his endeavor. Of course, we are far from being indifferent to the difficulties which the country is facing. Still, this is not to say that the workers should be left without wages. Besides, such practices heighten social tension, and may prompt people to take extreme steps, to strike. Why should we bring this about? After all, the money is paid anyway, albeit with a delay.... It is the business of the government and the finance organs to find a way out of the situation. However, we must resolutely do away with the erroneous practice of delays in wage payments.

[Golovachev] Has the AUCCTU approached the government in this matter?

[Arzhavkin] Yes, many times. As early as last year, more precisely on 19 April, a special letter "On the Incidence of Violations of the Schedule of Wage Payments" was sent to the USSR Council of Ministers. In particular, it said that the failure to pay wages on time creates unrest in the labor collectives and affects the results of labor negatively. A similar appeal was made in the spring of this year. In its letters to the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU has insisted that this situation is inadmissible....

The AUCCTU also did not agree with the fact that in January of last year statistical reporting on the incidence and causes of delays in paying wages was canceled. Subsequently, such statistical reporting was again introduced by a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers.

We have taken other steps as well. I could quote a lot of examples when flexible intervention by trade unions was helpful in allocating the necessary funds to a particular region. Of course, these are just half-measures. The government should take the most resolute measures in order to entirely eliminate the incidence of delays in wage payments due to the absence of bills in the banks. Every such case should really become an emergency.

Six-Month Rail Performance Detailed

18290227 Moscow GUDOK in Russian

18 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[Article based on materials of the Administration of Statistics of the Ministry of Railroads: "Review of Transportation Operations in the First Half-Year"]

[Text] More than 2,019,000 tons of **freight** were carried. The plan was overfulfilled by 14 million tons. The state order was exceeded by 1.3 percent. However, the assignments for four types of freight covered by the state order (iron and manganese ore, flux, chemical and mineral fertilizer, timber freight) were not fulfilled.

The industry operated most unfavorably in the second quarter when the overall shipment plan was underfulfilled by more than 10 million tons, including more than 2 million tons on state order. In the process considerable shortfalls in the loading of hard coal (4.5 million tons), iron and manganese ore (1.6 million tons), flux (0.9 million tons), chemical and mineral fertilizer (0.7 million tons), and timber (0.4 million tons) occurred.

Eight railroads did not meet the overall shipment plan in the first half of the year. In the process the Volga, West Kazakhstan, Tselina, and Kemerovo Railroads accumulated more arrears on top of those in the first quarter, and the Lvov, North Caucasus, Alma-Ata, and Sverdlovsk Railroads are in arrears for the second quarter.

The transportation plan in the second quarter failed as a result of both the extremely unsatisfactory organization of operational work on a number of railroads and the failure to furnish products for transportation, failure to load cars according to the norms on the part of freight shippers, and untimely unloading of the cars by freight recipients. Great losses occurred due to the uneven loading on individual days of the week and reduced levels of freight activity on days off and holidays.

Routing of freight movement. The shipment on exit and stage itineraries amounted to 41.5 percent. Compared to the first half of 1988, it declined by 1.2 percent, including ferrous metals, refinery products, coke, timber, and granulated slag. Such loading declined the most on the Northern, Moscow, South Urals, West Siberian, Transbaykal, Volga, and Baykal-Amur Railroads.

Unloading of cars proceeded in an extremely unsatisfactory manner in the first half of the year. The volume of unloading declined by 2,700 cars compared to the same period of last year, whereas local freight increased by almost 12,000 cars. Work with gondola cars deteriorated abruptly.

The level of unloading in the first half of the day amounted to a mere 28.4 percent. The residuals of cars not unloaded increased sharply on days off and holidays.

The Belorussian, Southern, Transcaucasian, Kuybyshev, Krasnoyarsk, West Siberian and Baykal-Amur Railroads fulfilled the plan for unloading. At the same time, unloading was below the plan on the October, Baltic, Moldavian, Odessa, North Caucasus, West Kazakhstan, and Far East Railroads, while there was a considerable surplus of local freight.

The unloading of cars with the resources of mechanized loading and unloading divisions increased in the first half year, but not in all places. It was conducted in an unsatisfactory manner on the Moscow, Lvov, Odessa, Southern, Southeastern, and some other railroads.

Freight traffic exceeded 1,950 billion tariff ton-kilometers. This is 16.9 billion km below the plan and 23.1 billion less than during the same period of last year. Half the railroads did not fulfill the plan on this indicator.

Reductions in freight traffic were due to a large degree to lower volumes of transportation. The average distance on the entire system increased by 7 km, and for mass freight such as coal by 15 km, oil and refinery products by 32 km, coke by 59 km, chemical and mineral fertilizer by 39 km, timber by 53 km, nonferrous ores by 15 km.

The utilization of cars and engines deteriorated.

The turnaround of a freight car was 0.25 days slower than planned. This happened mainly due to increases in idle time at freight and technical stations and reductions in scheduled speed. The plan levels were achieved only on the Moscow, Alma-Ata, Tselina, Krasnoyarsk, West Siberian, East Siberian, and Baykal-Amur Railroads. At the same time, the turnaround slowed down considerably compared to the plan on the Baltic, October, Transcaucasian, Southeastern, Odessa, Gorkiy, and North Caucasus Railroads.

The average daily productivity of an engine dropped by 0.9 percent compared to the level of the first half of 1988.

Average weight of the train fell by 2.2 percent compared to the plan. Only the Volga, Krasnoyarsk, East Siberian, and Baykal-Amur Railroads fulfilled the plan.

Static load on the car exceeded the plan level by a mere 160 kg, and increased by 120 kg compared to the same period of last year. It increased most on the Belorussian, Gorkiy, Southern, Dnepr, Southeastern, Kuybyshev, Volga, and East Siberian Railroads. The Southwestern, Odessa, Tselina, Azerbaijan, Alma-Ata, and Baykal-Amur Railroads did not even meet the assignment.

The discipline in maintaining the schedule of train traffic was relaxed; 88.7 percent of freight trains were dispatched on schedule, and 75.2 percent traveled in keeping with the graph.

Passenger traffic amounted to almost 197 billion passenger-kilometers. This is 5.3 billion more than planned and 4.5 billion more than during the same period of last year. All the railroads, with the exception of the Baltic, Moldavian, Transcaucasian, Southeastern, Volga, and Kuybyshev, fulfilled the plan on this indicator. The situation with regard to the quality of passenger transportation was considerably more complicated.

Drawbacks and miscalculations in the organization of traffic were quite serious, especially with regard to services to passengers at terminals and on the trains and in preparing the trains for their runs. A considerable deterioration of compliance with the schedule in the travel of passenger trains occurred on 15 railroads. It was greatest on the Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, and Transcaucasian Railroads.

Despite the work conducted, no considerable improvement in the technical condition of the rolling stock and other technical resources was achieved. The overall number of engines out of order which were undergoing overhauls and current repairs, as well as technical servicing, was above the norm and higher than in the same period of last year. The depot percentage of electric engines out of order increased by 0.2 percent, and of diesel engines by 0.3 percent. Down time for the current repairs of both electric and diesel engines increased. The uncoupling of cars due to technical deficiencies declined by 6.7 percent; the absolute number of uncouplings remained high, however.

On the system, 2,800 warnings to reduce speed are posted in addition to those incorporated in the graph. Their overall number amounts to 6,600. A particularly unfavorable situation with the condition of track facilities developed on the October, Lvov, Odessa, Gorkiy, Northern, Southeastern, and Volga Railroads. In the first half of the year, all kinds of track repairs were in arrears on the entire system compared to the plan assignment.

Utilization of fuel and energy resources. Although on the entire system about 250,000 tons of diesel fuel and about 400 million kilowatt-hours of electricity were saved, the Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Azerbaijan, and Volga Railroads registered over-the-plan consumption.

Capital investment taking into account the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] facilities amounted to R3,626 million (92.9 percent of the plan), including R1,357 million for construction and assembly work (93.5 percent of the plan). Without taking into account BAM facilities, capital investment funds of R3,104 million were used (93.2 percent of the half-year quota).

Construction organizations of the MPS [Ministry of Railroads] fulfilled 44.8 percent of the annual plan for construction and assembly work, and those of Mintransstroy [Ministry of Transport Construction] by 46.7 percent.

With the BAM taken into account, 761,000 square meters of overall space in housing was commissioned, as well as general schools for 1,665 students, daycare facilities for 1,810 children of preschool age, hospitals with 436 beds, and ambulatory and clinic facilities for 300 visits per shift. Twenty-five railroads fulfilled assignments in the commissioning of housing, the Dnepr, North Caucasus, Transcaucasian, West Kazakhstan, Tselina, Alma-Ata and Far East Railroads being the most successful.

Operation of industrial enterprises. The increment of industrial production amounted to a mere 0.6 percent. The situation with the fulfillment of contractual obligations for the delivery of products deteriorated. Shortfalls in the delivery of products to consumers were almost twice as high as last year. Enterprises of the Baltic Railroad fulfilled their contracts only 77 percent, of the West Siberian Railroad 79 percent, the Northern and West Kazakhstan Railroads by 82 percent, and the Central Asian Railroad by 84 percent.

Twenty TsTVR [Main Administration for Rolling Stock Repairs] plants did not meet commitments for deliveries. The arrears are the greatest at the Ishim Mechanical Works, Baku VRZ [Car Repair Plant], Novosibirsk ERZ [Electric Engine Repair Plant], Tashkent TVRZ [Diesel Engine and Car Repair Plant], and Voronezh VRZ.

Compared to last year, the number of plants of the Research and Production Association "Soyuzzheldoravtomatizatsiya" which failed to fulfill contractual obligations increased by a factor of two. During the half-year, four plants accumulated R0.9 million in output arrears. One plant of the "Rempumash" Production Association in two did not meet delivery obligations.

The TsTVR plants fulfilled the plan for commissioning diesel and electric engines and electric train sections following overhauls. Despite the 3.2 percent overfulfillment of the June plan for passenger car repairs, it turned out to be insufficient to eliminate the lag accumulated previously. Overall, 43 fewer cars were commissioned during the half-year than called for by the assignment. The Baku, Barnaul, Darnitsa, Ordzhonikidze, and Tselinograd plants did not fulfill the plan of commissioning freight cars after overhauls.

Enterprises of the industry produced consumer goods worth R67 million (in retail prices). This accounts for 60 percent of the volume for the entire year set by the state order. The 6-month quota was exceeded by R15.3 million, or 29 percent. Compared to the same period of last year, the volume of production increased by 16 percent.

Paid services worth R2,047 billion were rendered to the populace. This is 3.2 percent more than provided by the plan.

For the first time in the current 5-year plan, transportation enterprises succeeded in attaining the planned volume of sales of communal services. The half-year plan was overfulfilled by 2.1 percent; the increment compared to the same period of last year amounted to 27 percent. However, failures to fulfill the plan on this indicator continued to occur on 14 railroads.

Enterprises of industrial railway transportation overfulfilled the plan of the first half-year for the volume of haulage by 2.3 percent. The Vladimir, Groznyy, Volgograd, and Novosibirsk Associations failed to ensure plan fulfillment.

Idle time of cars at "Promzheldortrans" enterprises exceeded the norm by 0.32 hours. The work on utilizing cars in the Sverdlovsk, Kuybyshev, Volgograd, Moscow, Kaliningrad, Groznyy, Armenian, and Tyumen Associations was organized in an unsatisfactory manner.

Subways of the country fulfilled the plan of traffic for the first half of the year 100.6 percent. Over 15 million passengers were carried additionally. Compared to the same period of last year, the volume of traffic increased by almost 5 million passengers. The Tbilisi, Kharkov, Tashkent, and Minsk subways did not fulfill the plan. From the beginning of the year, R1.2 million of profits were received. The savings of operational resources exceeded R3.6 million. The self-cost of carriage was reduced by 2.8 percent compared to the plan.

Labor productivity of railway transportation employees engaged in traffic increased by 1.7 percent compared to January through June 1988 (under comparable conditions). The highest growth was attained on the Baykal-Amur, Alma-Ata, Azerbaijan, Southwest, and Central Asian Railroads. From among the six railroads which failed to meet the plan on this most important economic indicator, the greatest shortfall was registered on the Transcaucasian, West Siberian, Sverdlovsk, and Moldavian Railroads.

The average monthly salary of employees involved in traffic increased by R13, or 4.8 percent, and came to almost R290. The established standard ratios of rates of wages and labor productivity were violated on the entire system and on most railroads.

Agricultural

Astrakhan Agricultural Production Conference Held

Ligachev Addresses Meeting

LD0308222789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Measures for increasing production of vegetables, fruit, melons, and gourds, and their supply to the country's industrial centers were discussed at a meeting held

in Astrakhan. Those taking part in its work were party and local soviet staff, specialists of the agro-industrial committees, and leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev opened the meeting. Comrade Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics Council of Ministers, delivered a report. He gave a thorough analysis of the state of affairs in fruit and vegetable growing. Many of those present at the meeting took part in the discussion of the report.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev addressed those gathered. He dwelled extensively on the way the party's modern agrarian policy is being implemented. He stressed that at present the task consists in saturating the country's food market with fruit, vegetables, and potatoes in the next few years.

Comrade Ligachev listed measures necessary to attain this goal. For example, to enhance economic incentives for farms; to improve the sale, storage, and processing of produce; to set up prices coordinated between producers and consumers and strengthen the activity of consumer coproduction; and to enhance the technical equipment of market gardening and horticulture.

Comrade Ligachev stressed in his speech that these matters must constantly be at the center of attention of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations. A report about the meeting is being published in the press.

Lower Yield Trends Discussed

LD0308211589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 3 August in the "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a 2-minute video report by correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn on an Astrakhan conference concerning the increase of vegetable and fruit production.

Sinitsyn opens the report by saying the conference was opened by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev and a report was delivered by Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Sinitsyn notes that the market gardening situation in the RSFSR is not going well, saying there is a trend toward lower yields. He says, "In the last few years the per capita consumption of potatoes has gone down by 9 kg, vegetables by 2 kg, and fruit by 4 kg. It is not shameful to import oranges from abroad, but it is incomprehensible why 400,000 tonnes of potatoes are imported every year." He notes that the situation could probably be helped by direct economic links between farms and industrial enterprises. The video shows Ligachev and others touring local market gardens and a tomato processing factory. Neither Ligachev nor Sizenko are quoted in Sinitsyn's report.

People's Deputies Discuss Farm Problems

18240207 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with People's Deputies S.A. Vorontsov and N.V. Yeseykin by V. Virkunen; date, place not given: "Are Half Measures of Great Benefit?"]

[Text] The theme of developing the agroindustrial complex and the radical improvement of the population's foodstuffs provision resounded in almost every one of the speeches of the people's deputies at the congress. Without radical solutions in this area, it is not possible to count on the successful resolution of any social problems. In a conversation with the SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent, USSR people's deputies from Ryazan Oblast S.A. Vorontsov, chairman of the Zavety Lenina Kolkhoz [collective farm], and N.V. Yeseykin, machine operator of a leased subdivision of the Dobrovolets Kolkhoz, feel that it will be necessary in the very near future to take legislative, legal, and organizational measures which must help man, the peasant, become master of the land more quickly.

Correspondent: The alarm sounded in the deputy-agriculturalists' addresses to the congress that someone is intentionally hampering the development of leasing relations, that they are meeting with resistance from a multitude of bureaucrats. What can be said on this subject? Why, in actuality, are they making their way so slowly?

Yeseykin: Briefly it could be said: There is a lack of understanding of this new form of management despite the fact that leasing offers a great deal. Personal interest is gradually beginning to work. At our kolkhoz, the lessee is no longer aiming his tractor wherever it will go; he isn't driving right across a sown field. But at many farms, including ours, I feel that people do not yet fully understand what leasing is.

Vorontsov: That's what the problem is. The villagers have not yet managed to comprehend what leasing is. They must learn. I frankly state that the level of our kolkhoz and sovkhoz [state farm] workers does not allow them to count expenditures in a sufficiently qualified manner.

In addition, in the meantime no one has given us clear principles and recommendations on what to do, how to build relations with the lessee. May he leave the farm or not? Should a bank account be opened for him or not? Where should state order [goszakaz] be put?

Hence the doubts of both the managers and the lessees. How serious is this epic with leasing? If it is long term, then the main issues must be resolved: power and property. And not in the manner of the case of the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Leasing and Leasing Relations in the USSR."

Yeseykin: As we know, this ukase was sharply criticized at the Congress of People's Deputies. Radical measures are necessary in order that leasing be put into practice. This is precisely why the March Central Committee Plenum was called. There are political solutions. But practically the only adoption made has been the Ukase on Leasing, and it doesn't work.

Under whose control is the land now? Whom does it belong to? There has not been an answer yet. In theory, to the people. In practice, to the farm administration. The kolkhoz chairman or sovkhoz director allocates the land. And giving or not giving land to the lessee or cooperative depends upon him even though the land must belong to the rayon soviet of people's deputies.

Now, as for equipment and other means of production. Who grants them to the lessee? Again, the administration. Fine, it's been granted. And when, for example, I pay off the farm for the cost of this tractor, to whom will it belong? For the time being, these are all unanswered questions.

Correspondent: There is much censure on the part of the lessees toward the kolkhoz and sovkhoz administrations: They do not fulfill the responsibilities they take upon themselves...

Vorontsov: But how can I fulfill them if they are not even given to me? That is how our agricultural service works. This situation has generated conflicts not only between the lessees and the farms; tension within the farms has been created as well. People categorically refuse to work with lessees or to render them contracted services. Why is this happening? Because, for example, the mixed feed, first and foremost, the very best hay, goes to the lessees. Nobody likes privileged people....

Correspondent: What alternative could be suggested?

Yeseykin: Equal economic conditions. Only for this, all kolkhozes and all sovkhozes, so that no one is offended, must be transferred to leasing. Otherwise, it will be that in practice, there is talk all around, but no deeds.

Vorontsov: Therefore, the Foodstuffs Program adopted by the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum is not being fulfilled. We are now silent about it, and referred to the March Plenum only by a slip of the tongue. And why did this come about? Because they uttered a slogan from on high and thought that it would work. No, that doesn't happen. The foodstuffs problem will remain in existence until we come to terms with the main issues: Power—who will grant the peasant land to own; and property—will the landowner manifest the economic interest which would unbind his hands for initiative and entrepreneurship? Leasing has concentrated within itself an entire web of problems of a theoretical and legislative nature which must be solved in the briefest time frame.

For example, the documents of the March Central Committee Plenum tread lightly, veiling the issue of property, which our science circles longingly, like a hungry cat waiting for the food to cool off. The right for personal property to exist must be acknowledged frankly, and a mechanism for its control created.

Correspondent: In addition, people are saying about the personal private plots that the owner will get a few cows and not work in the kolkhoz. There is an opposition, so to speak, of personal and public farms.

Yeseykin: But why should they be opposed? They are already doing so in many kolkhozes and sovkhoses. If you want to keep, let's say, 10 cows, go ahead. Write up a contract with the farm, get the feed and the necessary help. And this activity will count toward your main line of business, and the production service will go on. To my mind, one does not contradict the other. Why, for example, should the milkmaid or herdsman have in fact two workplaces? And there is no need to delineate: here is personal, here is public.

Correspondent: We have really addressed a concept new to us—the private peasant labor farm...

Vorontsov: Only we shouldn't view it as a lifesaver. If the private peasant farm is to be developed, then we need to create a solid material base. At what price does the personal farm have greater efficacy? The price is high pressure and health. But such labor utilization is extremely unproductive and wasteful. Mechanization and transformation are needed here. Only then will the youth go to the village. If a mini-farm is to be built, then a residence, and fodder preparation and storage facilities are needed there. But where can this site be located in the present village?

So, these mini-farms must be built apart in order that land be all around, tillable and grazing land, taking into consideration ecological and public health requirements. Here is one more problem difficult to resolve without the state's help.

Correspondent: If the issue of property is resolved, how much simpler will relations between the lessees and the lessors become? After all, lessees are in conflict with farms all around over payment for their labor: The product produced by the lessee does not belong to him; leased livestock in particular. At the same time, if someone acquires a few piglets or calves for his private plot, they become his personal property. Then the owner fattens them up and sells them either to the farm or at the market. No conflicts or misunderstandings arise here. It is my opinion that such a principle of interrelations must be extended to lessees.

Vorontsov: Of course. But here we have to resolve the price issue. At what planned price of record is the farm selling (of course, conditionally selling, not as property) calves to the lessee? At R2.14 per kg live weight. Here there is the opportunity to make above-income in buying and selling.

Now I'll prove it. Let's say that the calf's lessee immediately slaughters it and sells the meat at the market for R7-8 per kg. And he will have a profit without investing any labor. Thus, the calf costs not R2 per kg, but much more! Consequently, a price for young stock must be established which reflects its real value. Otherwise it will come about that the farms producing the young will always be operating at a loss, while those who fatten it get superprofit.

To a certain extent, this concerns lessees as well. Taxes, but only truly progressive ones, are also needed on superprofits. The portion of the lessee's profit which he puts into development is not subject to taxes. But he will develop only if he can be certain that no one will take away that which he has amassed.

Yeseykin: Much confusion is arising now with the introduction of leasing relations. If I, for example, with my leasing collective, knew that we had the land for 50 years, we would lease or purchase the equipment and all that we needed, and then everything would be quite different. Then we would grow produce, potatoes for example and would meet all of our obligations....

Correspondent: Could your team manage the harvest without drawing upon supplemental labor forces?

Yeseykin: Of course, it is impossible for a small collective to harvest a large area. Workers would have to be hired for the harvest season. There's no getting around it....

Correspondent: So, hired labor is nevertheless necessary. And this is exactly where many theoreticians see the danger of exploitation of man by man. It seems that this danger is imaginary. Their relations can be successfully regulated by labor legislation. Payment or tax for using labor resources can be established. Those opposed to bringing in labor do not or cannot see the current situation, where under the guise of sponsor's aid, the forced and highly unproductive labor of city dwellers is utilized.

Vorontsov: How true. Here we need serious decisions at the government level. The so-called sponsor's aid is a direct loss of labor resources. It would be better if these city dwellers, instead of going to the farm, thought up and made some sort of useful and inexpensive machine to prepare feed or collect manure.

Much remains to be resolved in both the organizational and technological plan. So, you, Nikolay Viktorovich, take the land and your team. But crop rotation? What

will be the case here? It is impermissible to bypass a portion of the crop rotation schedule and give that land to a lessee; harm would come to the earth. The problem has to be solved somehow. And in order that it be solved correctly, the farm's agronomist must, as they say, be some kind of genius...

Yeseykin: ...And then there is state order [goszakaz], which directly contradicts leasing arrangements. There is pressure on the farm, and the farm squeezes me: produce so many potatoes in a certain time frame and at a certain price. But it is not to our advantage to realize 8 kopeks per kg in autumn. I must harvest them, store them, and sell them later in winter. Then they will fetch me quite another price, and they'll be grateful.

Vorontsov: But for that you must have storage facilities...

Yeseykin: So they should be built. And there should be processing in the kolkhozes; then there would be no spoilage. Otherwise, we would haul this poor potato or cabbage to a gigantic vegetable facility where they will make it disappear, letting some go out "under the table," pocketing the profits. Roads are also needed. We cannot live and work normally without roads. Housing, schools, hospitals, and stores are needed... The lessee cannot bear this on his own. A system of measures is needed. As we have been convinced more than once, half measures will not produce the result.

Correspondent: The agroindustrial complex receives priority in grants of capital investment. The investments themselves may yield nothing, as has already happened. In order to maximize yields, toward which branches should the complex concretely direct investments?

Vorontsov: People are still leaving the countryside. They flee poverty, the endlessness, the lack of culture, the heavy, cheerless labor. Of course, under such conditions, it would be naive to think of leasing as a panacea against all ills. We cannot erect our plans for producing foodstuffs in an empty space. Housing and roads must be constructed first and foremost. In this, I am in agreement with Nikolay Viktorovich. Here is where these new resources must be directed. The social program of the village is now the main issue.

If I had the housing for it on my kolkhoz, I could increase production output by a factor of 1.5-2. Every careless loafer and shirker considers himself irreplaceable. And he really is. Indeed, there is no one to replace him with.

But people follow the housing. They will come back from the cities: Why not work in the country if the conditions for it have been created? People will come, and the cause will progress. And then you organize the lessees and the cooperatives.

Only it is not necessary to put the kolkhoz and sovkhos in opposition to the private peasant farm, cooperative, or lessee. Let them all exist. All forms of management should be granted equal economic conditions so that the kolkhoz possesses the rights of the cooperative, and the cooperative member or lessee has access to material resources equal to that of the kolkhoz.

Yeseykin: I would add to what Sergey Aleksandrovich has said, several thoughts for our local authorities. The worker's departure from the kolkhoz or sovkhos should not be feared; he should not be kept there by force. If a person wants to farm independently, he must be granted land, equipment, credit, and everything needed for the production of grain, milk, or meat. Let him work. One way or another, he will arrive at the cooperative movement all the same.

What do I mean by this? There have already been a great multitude of resolutions concerning the village. But no products have been added to the stores from them. All because the measures taken until now have not concerned the interests of those who labor directly on the farm and in the field. As was noted in the address of the people's deputies-agriculturalists to the Congress of People's Deputies, how the peasants are to live cannot be decided for them. Let the village toiler decide for himself where he is to work—in the kolkhoz, sovkhos, or on his own private farm. And only when his personal interest starts working can we count on success.

RSFSR Paper Reports Grain Harvest Progress PM0308152589

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 July 1989 Second Edition publishes on page 1 under the rubric "Difficult Days of the Harvest" a 1,100-word report by correspondent V. Kolobov entitled "Grain Will Not Wait" and three 150-word harvest reports attributed to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA-TASS. The Kolobov report begins as follows:

"Ryazan Oblast grain growers have this year cultivated an unprecedented harvest for this area. They are now threshing almost 22 quintals per hectare. However, this is the weight in the granary, whereas the usual, hopper weight is approximately 25 quintals. Harvesting is past the half-way mark. According to operational data, as of 29 July grain crops had been threshed on 600,000 hectares—approximately 60 percent of the harvest area."

The report from Orel entitled "Above Plan" includes the following information:

"Orel Oblast farms are continuing to sell grain above the state order. Yesterday the 20,000th tonne of above-plan grain reached the grain-reception centers. Thus, 520,000 tonnes of wheat, rye, barley, and other grain and pulse crops have been poured into the state's storehouses."

"This harvest is not only the biggest in the whole history of farming but also of the best quality.

"The harvest has entered its concluding phase. The oblast agro-industrial committee has reported that 200,000 tonnes of grain will be sold above the annual target."

The report from Stavropol entitled "Stavropol Kray Harvest Under Way" states:

"Despite the continuing bad weather, Stavropol Kray collective and state farms today achieved an important labor victory: The annual state order for the dispatch of grain to elevators and grain-reception centers was fulfilled. Most of the grain is winter wheat of strong and valuable strains, which is noted for its good baking qualities.

"The flow of grain into the state's granaries is not easing up. It remains to thresh cereal crops in the kray over an area of just over one-third of a million hectares."

The Voronezh report entitled "Trio of Firsts" includes the following passage:

"Grain has already been threshed on 700,000 hectares [in Voronezh Oblast]—more than half the entire area of grain crops.

"The pace of the dispatch of grain to the elevators and procurement centers is increasing daily. Some 800,000 tonnes of grain has already been poured into the motherland's granaries—two-thirds of the plan."

Scientific

Earthquake Hits Chencheng-Ingush Republic
LD0308135089 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT
3 Aug 89

[text] Groznyy August 3 TASS—An earthquake jolted the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic at 11:42 today. Its epicentre was 50 kilometres north-west of Groznyy. Underground tremors measured between 5 and 6 in the capital of the autonomous republic, according to the Groznyy seismic station, their magnitude in the epicentre, a deserted area of the Sunzha Mountain Ridge, was not determined.

TASS was told at the Republican Civil Defence Centre that the earthquake caused partial destruction of shops and also an administrative building at the Groznyy Gas Processing Plant. The collapse of a wall killed one person.

The consequences of the earthquake are being specified.

Military

Airborne Troops Commander Achalov Interviewed
PM0308151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General V. Achalov, commander of the Airborne Troops, by V. Izgarshev: "The Blue Berets"; date and place of interview not stated; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Vyacheslav Alekseyevich was appointed commander of the airborne troops in January this year. He is 43 years old. He was born into a peasant family in the Middle Volga. He has served in the Soviet Army since 1963. He graduated from school in 1966. He has passed through all command and staff ranks in the troops. He has graduated from two academies: the Armored Troops Academy and the General Staff Academy. [passage omitted]

[Izgarshev] The process of mutual trust is continuing in the world, which makes it possible to reduce arms and armed forces. The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies are responsible for the initiative in adopting a new defensive military doctrine. But the airborne troops probably preach a defensive doctrine least of all, Vladislav Alekseyevich. They are mobile and are always primed for the order "advance!" To what degree is the new doctrine reflected in the role and place of the airborne troops?

[Achalov] Allow me to disagree with you. Yes, the airborne troops are mobile and, as you said, are always primed for the order "advance." But why should defense be passive? No, it should be active.

This year the world situation is changing for the better: Everyone knows and can see that; the new thinking is bearing fruit in international politics. But to all appearances we are still a long way from the time when we can drive our bayonets into the ground, as they say. Our partners in the disarmament talks are continuing the modernization and creation of qualitatively new strategic offensive arms—missile, air, and naval arms. Speeches about the possibility of winning a nuclear war have again been heard among U.S. ruling circles. We must take this into account. And, while actively and assertively pursuing a peaceful foreign policy which, of course, accords with the most vital aspirations and hopes of all people of the world, we military men must think of the country's defense and the combat readiness of its defenders. That is our vocation.

The new Soviet military doctrine is of a defensive nature, in accordance with which the airborne troops will, if necessary, resolve tasks of a defensive nature. Indeed, they knew how to do this well even in the past—during the Great Patriotic War. The airborne troops defended Moscow and Leningrad and stood to the death at the walls of other cities and settlements of the country. They defended themselves staunchly.

Returning to the present day I want to stress that until guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive trends which have begun in the world have taken shape, our people demand that we strengthen the country's defense. Proceeding from this premise, we are engaged in improving the airborne troops.

[Izgarshev] Perestroyka is under way in all spheres of our life, including the armed forces. It is unfortunately true that in some places it is proceeding with a certain delay. What processes are taking place in the airborne troops in connection with perestroyka?

[Achalov] What is particularly obvious when you acquaint yourself with matters on the spot? Above all the desire to eliminate more actively the shortcomings in combat training, in the consolidation of military discipline, and in the solution of socioconsumer problems. Social questions are being raised more keenly and precisely everywhere. The role of sergeants and the party

and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League aktiv has been substantially increased. We are now also activating work with officers. For instance, officers' meetings are being instituted.

But it is premature to say that we have already restructured ourselves. Delaying factors are yesterday's mentality, the attraction toward report mania and show, which has not yet been eliminated, the desire to present everything in the best light, and the wish to sit idly behind someone else's back—let others try and we will see what comes of it. There are also reasons which do not depend on us and which are also characteristic of other state institutions. The USSR people's deputies spoke a great deal and with great concern about this both at the Congress and at the Supreme Soviet session. In brief, we have many problems, but there is a desire to work, and it is growing and being transformed into deeds. And that is a guarantee of the success of perestroyka in our ranks too. [passage omitted about character-forming nature of service in airborne troops, the deaths of three servicemen "in one of our hot spots" last November, the "special relations" among the airborne troops, and the role of the troops' veterans]